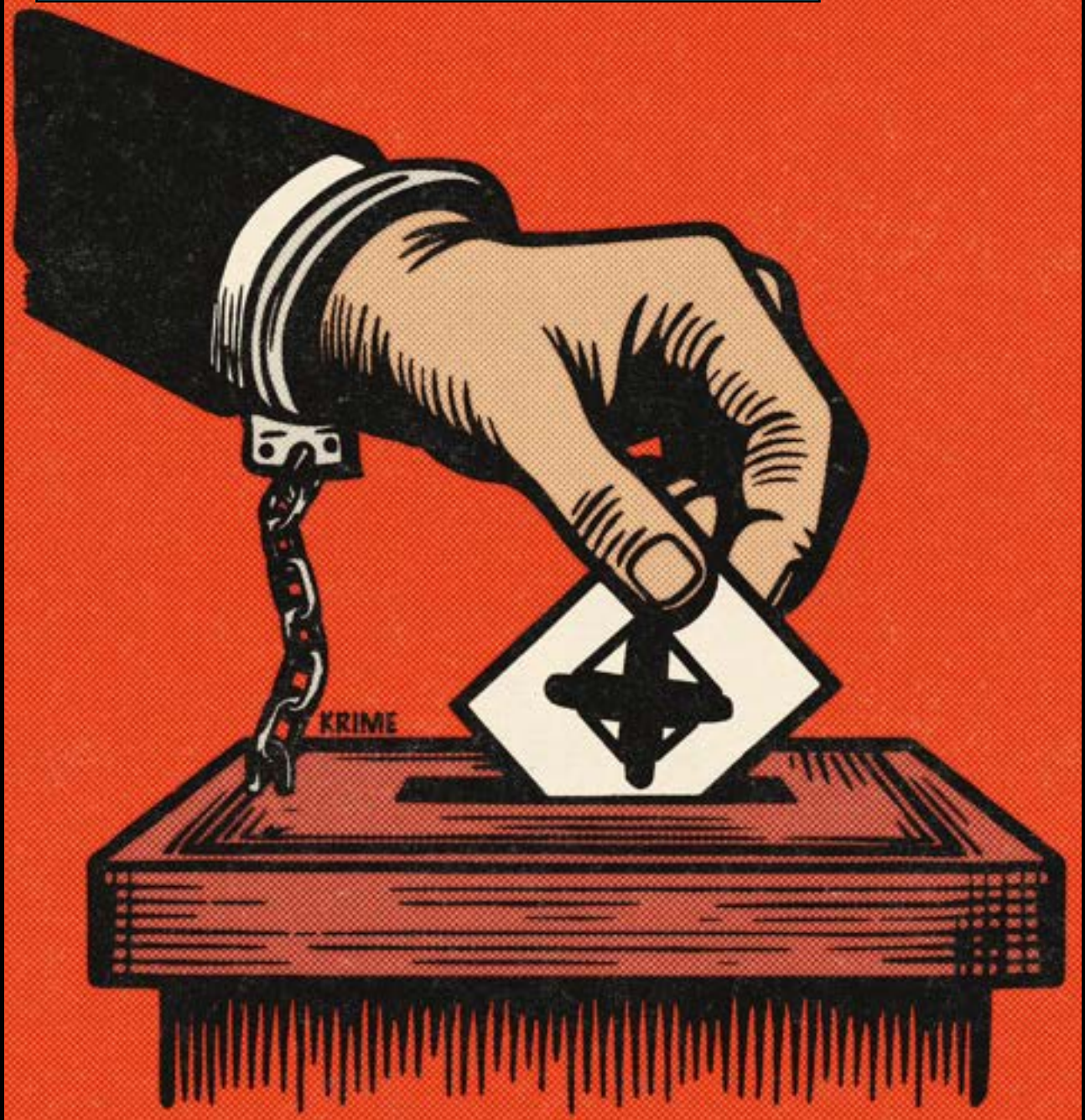
ORGANISE 100



CHOOSING YOUR MASTER DOES NOT MAKE YOU FREE

Organise is a project of the Anarchist Federation [AF]. It is composed by the Organise Editorial Collective [OEC]. As anarchist communists we fight for a world without leaders, where power is shared equally amongst communities, and people are free to reach their full potential.

We punlish twice a year with the aim to provide a clear anarchist viewpoint on contemporary issues and to initiate discussion on ideas not normally covered in agitational papers.

With this in mind we positively solicit contributions from our readers regarddless of their political tendancy and host a variety of media relating to anarchism alongside broader anti-authoritarian and autonomous analogs.

As a result, the contents of this magazine do not represent the collective viewpoint of the AF unless stated as such. Revolutionary ideas develop from discussion, they do not merely drop out of the air!

We hope this publication will help that discussion take place and light a fire in your heart.

Cover artwork by Krime (Sworn enemy of the USA) You can find more of their work here: linktr.ee/Krime_1

Contact:
organisemag@riseup.net

Support us and subscribe:
patreon.com/Organise

Website:
organisemagazine.org.uk

Discord Server:
discord.gg/b2xa3kv2PA

Twitter:
twitter.com/organisemag

Address:
AF c/o Freedom Bookshop,
84b Whitechapel High St.
London E1 7QX

Organise is Copyleft and Anti-Copyright however we aim to ensure that all images and text contained are used respective of the various copyright agreements & where the contibutors name is given copyright remains with them. If you feel that we have used any images of text without your permission please contact us.

CONTENTS

4 BE BRAVE. DON'T VOTE. REVOLT.
9 RAW INJUSTICE - BETRAYAL AT PORT TALBOT
14 ORGANISE THEN AND NOW
19 WALNEY ACCEPTANCE LETTER

24 INTERNATIONAL ROUND UP
27 ALL EYES ON RAFAH
29 WHAT SOLUTION FOR PALESTINE
35 ENCAMPMENT

45 OJORE LUTALO: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
50 THE WRITINGS OF ALI KHALID ABDULLAH

61 BITS AND BYTES: A REVIEW OF "EVERYTHING TO PLAY FOR"
63 THE MAGNETIC GOSPEL
68 THE SUPER HAPPY ANARCHO FUN PAGES
70 WILDCAT
71 THE ANARCHY OF COLORED GIRLS ASSEMBLED IN A RIOTOUS MANNER.

"Elections serve two purposes. One is to settle disputes between different sections of the ruling class, without bloodshed. The other is to give the people the impression that they rule the government. "
- Wayne Price

When I wrote my last editorial I spoke about the next generation of anarchists and how I saw a wave of revolutionary mischief brewing. I didn't know the horrors which would inspire it nor just how many of us would fail to find purpose in standing with the victims of imperial invasion, occupation and ethnic cleansing merely because there is a flag or external state support.

"Neither Hamas nor Israel, Neither NATO nor Russia," the anarchist comments on a photo of a Palestinian solidarity demonstration. Selective patter illustrates the residue of reactionary chauvanism and paternalist arrogance at play.

All I read is: *"Neither genocide victim nor Imperialist perpetrator."* and *"my Anarchism is on simmer, little more than simplistic slogans, reductive talking points, and endless, boring essays which go unread."*

Fuck Hamas, Fuck the IDF, Fuck your callous apathy. You betray everything you claim to stand for. Do better.

More importantly we've seen a deeply humbling, organic movement spring forth. Anarchists, socialists, anti-authoritarians, analogs, adjacents, and just everyday folk who could not stay silent nor comply with the litany of atrocities we're veiwing daily... They came together and took a stand in whatever way they could.

Marches, occupations, political campaigns, smashing the shit out of drone factories, donation drives, documentation and education, clandestine militant action we'll never get reports on, and conversations with friends. Whatever means were viable people took up the call and responded.

Fuck this genocide. Fuck the smoke screens, lies and malinformation. Fuck the anti-semitism and islamaphobia. Fuck this war.

Anarchism. Intersectional, considered and beautiful. Is fighting the dying light with true internationalism. It's loving embrace screams *fuck your violence* and isn't hesistant in expressing solidarity with it's victims of state violence nor requires them to reflect our politic, or deny their shared existance. Anarchism is compassion, applied. It's beautiful to see so more more of this.

Peter Ó Máille
Member of the Organise Editorial Collective.

The Organise Editorial Collective:
Peter O'Maille, Ayden Parsons, Aces, Zosia Brom & Mutt.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS EDITION INCLUDE:
KRIME, Tommy Lawson, Piper Tomkins, Reclaim The Power, Earth First, Baruq, Reddebrek, Jason Vizcarra-Brown, Ali Khalid Abdullah, Strangers in a Tangled Wilderness & Donald Rooum

Cover Poster
Krime

An Occupied House is an Enchanted House
Baruq

Postcards
Airidescence & Seditionist Distribution

Our thanks to the suppliers of these medias and to you, dear reader for supporting us.

We make no profit from Organise.

It doesn't even cover it's cost and we give the entire content away for free across our online spaces. Anarchists make poor capitalists ;p

Subscribe or drop a solidarity donation via www.patreon.com/organise

Peter Ó Máille
Anarchist Federation
March 2024

BE BRAVE. DON'T VOTE. REVOLT.

On the 4th of July I'll go the polling station and I'll gleefully spoil my ballot.

I'm not "abstaining" because I think all politicians are the same nor out of apathy, ignorance or futile rebellion. I'm purposefully marking my disgust at the entire circus. I reject their system because of the cold hard material reality that there is no possibility of radical social change within the auspices of parliaments, senates and diets. It's worse, these bodies, no matter how many ersatz egalitarians warm their seats, sow little more the obedience, capitulation and acceptance of the carceral reality around us. If you live in the UK, you do not live a democracy. The same is true most of the world over, but I'm here in the UK and this is what I'm speaking too.

The state mechanism around us presents us with the illusion of shared power, that the people of the UK, if they so wished could enact any change they want, that the power is theirs and the state serves them. This artifice is built upon the premise that via winning elections they have a legitimate and just causes to enact their will. However every stage of this is a lie.

Your local MP candidate was almost invariably chosen by the party, often parachuted in to fill a gap or collect some B-roll for future campaigns. You didn't chose them and the rarely spring force from local movements. Once on the the register each and every MP is beholden to the party, not you, in the same way that a supermarket worker does what his boss says and nods with polite sincerity as some random bloke moans about the lack of low-fat lasagne.

Once the MP is elected, they are given the Whip and told to do what they are told or bang going the Party support, a kushy gig and all the social respect they are just delighted with. The party in power usually sits with about a third of the people actually having voted for them and with supreme authority they'll do what ever the fuck they like. If you think you have any influence over your standing MP, other than make some suggestions for a petty cause for them to champion, gotta get a name for yourself.

Each and every MP in fact serves the capital machine that has embedded itself within each and every aspect of our society. A rot so near absolute and terminal that it is near impossible to think of any solution without capitulating to it's will. Sure, capital can be steered this was and that, for a few years the workers might get a few extra quid but down the line it'll be austerity and deathbed Fit To Work notices. Red or Blue.

Your government does not stand against the violent abuses of capitalist oligarchs or even your more local boss who drinks up the very last drops of the trickle down economy. While you might find a smattering of decent socialist along the way, find me one who stood against capitalism, You might find a strong Asian voice, a Welsh nationalist, a queer rights advocate or the king of tofu welders OBE but which of these spoke against the hegemony of capitalism and the brutal industrial realities of the class war?

But we **have** freedom, Pussycat. We were all taught that at school.
Every sheep is allowed to vote for a shepherd.
That is what freedom is.

Even the very best of them merely offer a softer whip, a longer chain, and a boss with your accent, and in your desperation to survive capitalism and a succession of reckless authoritarian despots, we've convinced ourselves that this is democracy. In your we're so beaten and pacified we've allow yourself to trust them as the cry out, The people have the power, and we're the voice of the people.

This is a lie.
You do not live in a democracy.

Democracy cannot be found through a thousand pacifying reforms, it can only be found through revolutionary action, direct confrontation with the centralised authority and building autonomy and liberty at the grass root level. Every very moment spent thinking about advocating for a political party, from a social media post to active campaigning, would be better spent taking up a mutual aid activity and investing in your local community.

Liberals, mutualists and social democrats alike argue that we should combine direct action with lobbying, we must make sure that the right wing don't get in!!! Only for the leftist candidate to continue on with the illegal wars, capitals state, selling off the health services and deporting the "surplus humanity". They'll just stick a pride flag on it or make sure the branding of the new open cast mine mentions net zero enough. Our representative promises to try to make the people choking us to death, ease up slightly. Honest.

Ignoring the fact that this is displacing your own capacity, social obligation and responsibility, it simply isn't true. This lie is instilled in us early. If you sign the petition, the MP will listen and the trees will be saved. While you might see a bus route changed or a 50p wage increase, a petition will never bring around social change on any meaningful scale. "Lobbying" without financial incentive is merely appealing to the conscience of the state.

Isn't lobbying just another weapon? This appeal and seemingly reasonable position is little but hoping the sheer injustice of children dying on the borders off Fortress Europe won't lead you to act beyond ticking a box on some paper. The world is dying, every drop of rain is acidic, The world has lost 60% of its wildlife in the past 50 years. The working class are economic prisoners, around the world there atrocities happening right now and your MP is party to it. Your softer whip is a noose.

You can argue that elsewhere in the world, the vote has brought the artifice of liberty, the end to Juntas, dictatorships and civil wars, purple thumbs bring hope, perhaps. Here in Liberal capitalism we have a smokescreen. The liberal agents for change fight a lift for the mildest victory, most never even achieve this. Pax Capitalisma reigns supreme and all will be consumed by it.

Further to this, the lobbyist will always inevitably turn against the actionionist when they can taste a slight victory. During every general election, at some point Labour party support start telling anarchists that they are racists if they don't vote, and specifically if they don't vote Labour, as a weapon against the Tory state. Time and time against across the past hundred years, liberal, lobbyists have appeal for calm during industrial actions and sporadic movements a like.

"If you riot, they'll never accept improving the DWP". What the fuck should any one care about slight changes to the methods of control? We should fight for reform and maintain the victories of the past, but we don't do this by disassembling our autonomy and our liberty. Change doesn't come with an election, change comes from giving the bastards hell, unfortunately historically the final act of such movements is the appeasement of the liberals and the martyrdom of the rebels but that's a separate issue.

If you recognise the anarchism in yourself, if you are an anti-authoritarian or a fellow traveller with an adjacent philosophy, your role in this fight for the future has to be grounded in fighting capitalism, the state and each and every reincarnation and reflection of hegemonic power.

Do this as a person, do this a the "political gal" in your friend group, do this over Sunday roasts and down the boozer. In your unions, factory lines, and front lines, encourage those around you to move towards their own liberate and autonomy., caste aside the puppet show and put your energy towards meaningful and just change. Not on their timeline, when it's convenient and politically astute, now.

My understanding of anarchist is that a foundational principle is that individuals shouldn't have power or authority over each other. Whilst I'm deeply opposed to absolutist application of dogma and doctrine, I can't see how any anarchist could earnestly accept handing such authority to another. This authority shouldn't exist anywhere let alone consolidated within the form of a state, a body which literally decides life and death for millions and whose record has been since the very first days of civilisation and empire, little more than a trail of blood, shit and tears.

This is a system that divides us into a massive majority ruled by a tiny minority, and which allows for power, wealth, and privilege to be ever more concentrated into the hands of that minority. The state is not a neutral body which can be used by all classes in society to protect their interests, rather it is an instrument of class rule that exists to protect the wealth and power of the ruling class and enforce their property rights and authority.

The state will never liberate you, no matter what flag flies. We, anarchists and our wider communities need to organise and fight, on every scale and on every front. The moment our complacency ends, while start building a better world. Don't wait for some accelerationist moment to force you into action. Start the work now. Built the federations, form the guild, skill up, share your ideas. Prefiguration is critical. Take the solutions in hand.

You don't want your mate to be evicted? Don;t appeal for a new master that promise to only restrict the parasitic class to stealing 70% of your income instead of 80%. Organise yourself and fight back., stop handing over your responsibility on the back of vague promises of an easier time for your section of the class. Instead of begging the bosses to stop redundancies, take the fucking company. Don't plead for your landlord to freeze the rent, for a renters union and tell him to fuck off, don't meet their demands, force them to meet yours.

The working class need to stop acting like temporarily embarrassed millionaires, looking only to their self interest and remember how each and every benefit we have was won, not will piecemeal victories for sections of the working class but with community, solidarity, unity and radical grass roots action. Put your energy to forming social fronts and guerilla networks both. Talk to each other, share ideas, share theory and put that theory into practice.

Elections pull up a lot of antagonism across the various perspectives and tendencies and in the long established history of passionate people talking about passionate things, sometimes this gets heated and hostile. I want you to know, it's OK to vote, we need to stop shaming each other for such tacit involvement in in the electoral state, we're all at different points along the journey and I think we're best considering solidarity rather than chauvinism as the response to comrades who feel the need to go and vote.

That said I'll be spoiling my ballot and I think you should do the same, if you even register. I'm not alone. 117,101 votes cast at the 2019 General Election were rejected as invalid at the count, we can safely assume the vast majority of these were spoilt for one purpose or another. especially since it's a 58 per cent increase on the 74,189 votes rejected at the 2017 count.

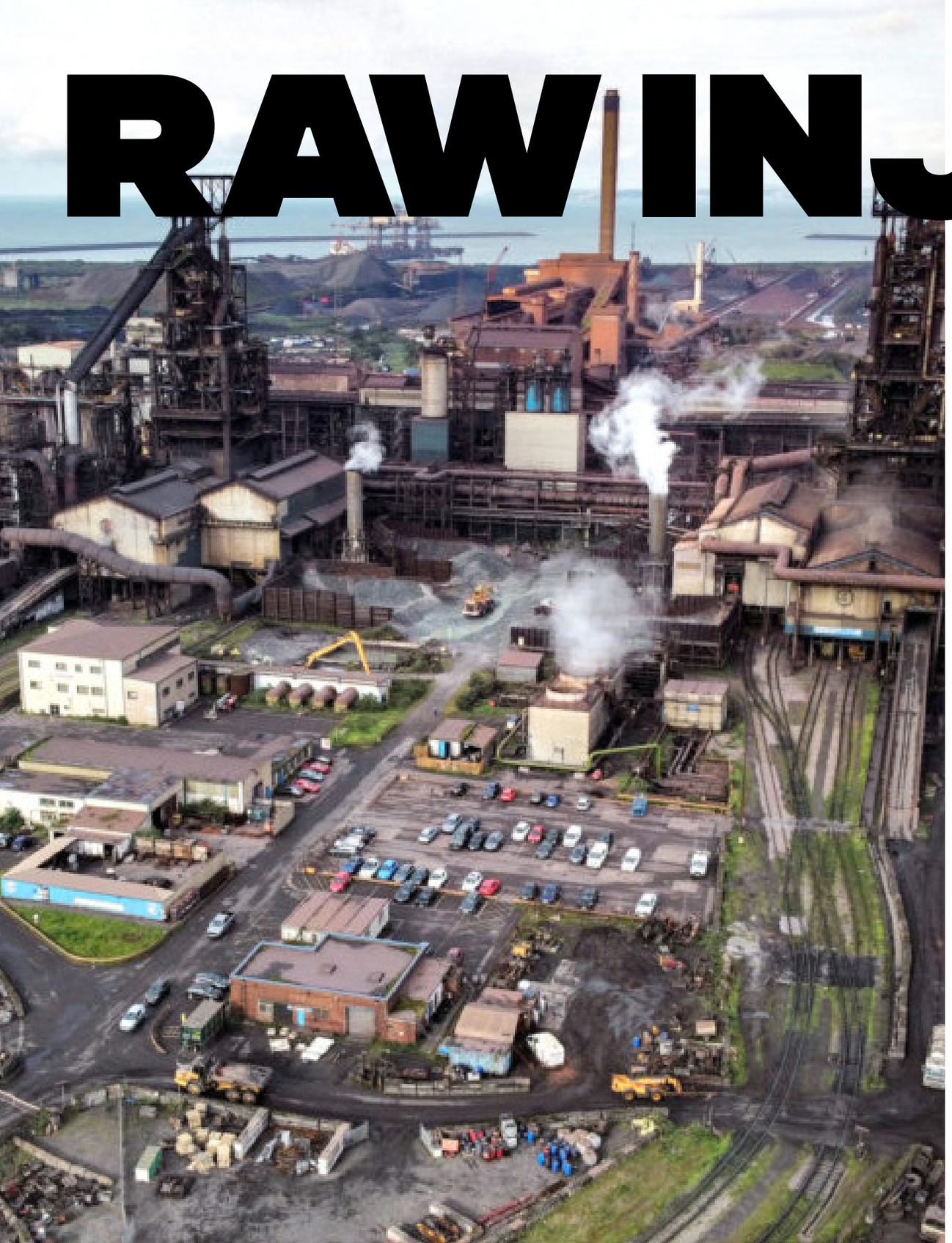
In 2019, 33% stayed at home. These arn't idle people. It's people who do not care about their bullshit and would be much happier with out it.

Even if in reality, this starts with spending 10% of your work time giving your labour for free, maybe you start a toolshed for your street, maybe you move to Athens and learn street combat first hand. Whatever it means for you to plant a seed and start stepping up, whether you've been an anarchist for fifty years or five minutes, don't waste your energy betraying your liberty, use it building a better world.

Whether you find liberty in duel power, weaponised apathy, armed struggle, organised grass roots movement building, or organising on the street via illegal raves, food projects, squatting, info shop building, running a mutual aid collective in Elite, writing safer spaces theory, documenting the radical actions of Ecuadorian comrades or writing letters to anarchist prisoners... what ever is meaningful and helps you find liberty, come the 4th of July do that. Be brave.

I'll spoil my ballot, and drink some beers while listening to Jon Biggar's election podcast and watch the map populate. the next day it'll be back to the struggle. ■

RAW INJUSTICE



In 1709 Abraham Darby discovered coke smelting, advancing the mass production of brass and iron goods. This discover was the seed which gave birth to the Industrial Revolution. 315 years later on the 20th of March the coke ovens at the Port Talbot steelworks spewed forth their last batch and were shuttered, this is likely to be Britain's last.

This was the first step of the shuttering of Port Talbot's two Blast Furnaces and the transition to Electric Arc Furnaces and more the the point, the gutting of Port Talbot's community and the livelihood of some 3000 people direct and thousands more by proxy, the latest in a long history of class war at the hands of corporations and central governments as they drive forward with reckless social and economic transformation, the workers little more than numbers to be caste aside the moment their labour is no longer part of the grandiose visions of ensure long term profits. Another volley in the class war, the workers however said No.

A LITTLE HISTORY

The Steel Company of Wales Ltd formed in 1947 and was Nationalised by Labour's Atlee government in 1951, only to be chocked into inaction and privatised by the following Conservative cabinet, subsequently being renationalised in 1967. This is how it stood until 1999 when the Blairites had better things to do but consider the working class and it's back to reckless corporate profiteering, ultimately ending up in the hands of Tata in 2007. By the 2010's it was clear that the future was Green, the realities of several hundred years of catastrophic recklessness have made themselves apparent and even if you really really don't want to agree with the hippies and dossers, the creeping reality of the cascade failure of our biosphere has started to affect profit margins and firmly rooted itself as a political hot potato.

Come 2016 and Britain has allowed a nationalist skidmark Farage and aristocratic puddle of piss Johnson to churn out enough bullshittery and chaff that even Trump would blush. The UK votes for Brexit. The UK leaving the EU and the eventual signing of the Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) in 2020 absolutely gutted profitability of the UK's Steel industry.

So it's time to slap on some green paint and call it progressive, never mind that Tata continue to run blast furnaces elsewhere and the UK government continues to endorse the most horrific environmental disasters of the coming decade, there has just been another COP and we need to look shiny and progressive and secure the future for the capitalist elite.

In 2023 the government decided to put half a billion into Port Talbot and replace the Blast Furnaces with Electric Arc Furnaces. While EAF is far from some environmental miracle and being itself a producer of toxic gases laden with heavy metal and coming with greatly increased demands on power production and the increase on heavy goods traffic it exists as one of the critical industries of the manufacturing future, the truth behind these decisions couldn't be any less about environmental concerns. It's about maintaining profits across the vast monolith of a global empire and the first thing any empire is willing to sacrifice in the name of profit it's the working class.

EAF is more more autonomous and replacing the two blast furnaces means some 3000 workers (directly and even more effected indirectly) that are surplus to requirement. The unions rightly object to this, Community and GMB outline a plan for Tata and Unite would issue Statements of intent. Ballots for industrial action went out.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION TIME

The lingering memory of the deep mine closures echoes through the valleys, starting with the loss of some 6000 job cuts in Wales through the 70's and the killing blow of 25,000 through the 80's leaving just 3000 in the early 90's. Then as it was now, the working class are being tossed onto the scrap heap,with neither care for their individual well-being or that of the wider community. The raw injustice behind the decision being made masked over with green washing platitudes and displaced promises of eternally imminent high tech jobs, jobs which on paper fill the maths but still leave the working class cut out of a market in-favour of the middle class aspirants.

Two generations might have gone by the be the scars are deep and it's absolutely no surprise that the ballots returned with a demand for action. The Industrial Action has already been dismissed by bosses and politicos alike as union bluster and the result of "troublemakers" as such action tends to be by filth in suits however the truth of it is than it's works showing the absolute best of solidarity with each other and fighting for a just transition for fellow workers and for Port Talbot.

The general (and simplified) plan from the workers is this: maintain a single blast furnace for ten years alongside the development of the EAF furnace, allowing for a suitable transition phase, one which would allow workers time to take appropriate steps, whether that'd be secure retirements, further work, savings or training. This while maintaining profitability for Tata and maintaining a secure diversity of production methods during times of economic instability.

This has been roundly rejected by Tata, it's primary arguments is that they've got "Net Zero" targets to meet and well it just isn't profitable, Port Talbots losing £1m a day! Both arguments are of course hog wash.

SUPRISE, THE BOSSES LIE.

Tata Steel Limited has reserves of £1.6 billion and has paid out dividends of £1.4 billion to shareholders between 2019 and 2023. It's global revenue is £117.78 Billion (FY 2023), up on the previous year. Choices are being made here and when the bosses section off their assets in such a manner it is little more than a weak attempt to obfuscate to wider picture so that they may validate (in the short term at least) redundancies.

The second of these arguments is even more laughable. You can't claim environmentalism and pin "Net Zero" as your purpose for closing two blast furnaces and tearing apart the economic well being of 3000 households as you build one of the largest blast furnaces in the world in India, and maintain numerous others including in the EU, such as the vast IJmuiden Steelworks in the Netherlands.

Their IJmuiden Steelworks was subject to a criminal investigation in 2022 into "intentional and unlawful introduction of hazardous substances into the soil, air or surface water." and was the focus of a report on dangerous emissions just last year. The Dutch are now considering subsidising this plants "green development" to the tune of £2.5 Billion. Public money again going into corporate greed.

Tata's Kalinganagar industrial complex in India equally is an absolute obscenity, consuming the ancestral lands of locals and the ecological splendour of the surrounding national park alike. Vast and polluting. It's one of four such plants in India.

The final hammer in this preposterous claim and the offloading of carbon responsibility is that even the most ardent advocates for the environment From Greenpeace to Friends of the Earth, Reclaim the Power, to Extinction Rebellion stand with the workers of Port Talbot.

The future of this planet cannot be secured at the expense of fellow workers. It is secured of the holistic and global end of of growth capitalism, profiteering, and industrial recklessness. We must first and foremost stand with the workers. Investment into so-called "green steel" and the future of the industry must place their well-being before profit.

FROM THE ANARCHIST PERSPECTIVE

These industries should be operated the benefit of their communities providing a strategic material resource for construction and manufacture, the economic loss made moot, if not by the post-economic social model then at the very least the social, logistical, and environmental benefits of local manufacturing of Iron and Steel.
While we can and should pursue environmentally sympathetic and balanced manufacture, we should do so earnestly and not by displacing manufacture to less economically developed regions of the world or by pursuing rapid transitions without consideration to the people and communities at the heart of it. Our solutions should be rooted in localism and internationalist in consideration. Kicking the carbon can down the road like this is just the latest face of colonialism, building an artifice of green splendour at home, built upon endless factory-scapes across Asia, Africa and South America.

Ultimately this conflict is repeated in numberless reflections around the world. The capitalist ethos views the workers are collateral, little more than abstracts in the math. Human beings are not collateral – let alone to the false promise of "Net-Zero". While we maintain these abusive relationships with the bosses we will only be maintaining the suicidal cycle of capitalism. The workers of a blast furnace are no more free than the workers of an electric arc furnace. They are subject to the same whims of their pay masters no matter green the whip. While profit is the aim and purpose of such industry we will never be working towards balance and well-being. Green capitalism is no different, especially as we socialise the cost while privatising the profits.

The trade unions, de-fanged and neutered as they are, present no revolutionary purpose towards a true green future. They seek to find compromise with capital and restrict the capacity for swift and meaningful direct and radical action of the workers, instead of stoking flames of change they turn furious rage into a palatable whimper for the bosses consideration. They appeal to the social conscience of those consumed by profit and power. At their most radical, they whisper about Nationalisation, tho rarely as little more than a empty threat to hopefully birth some corporate compassion.

Nationalisation is you could argue, in ideal circumstances at least, one step towards autonomy, a bringer self determination for the working class. I can think of few cases where this has been the result mind, instead it's implementation has been little more than utopianism by the statists and something the rest of us appeal to as a tiny step of reform towards something better. No, while the state maintains a ethos of growth this is a hollow exchange. The workers are still sent to toil for their bosses and the planet is still treated as a exploitable resource, people still treated as playthings for vast and indifferent bodies of powerful men in some distant boardroom. If the government wants to build a motorway through your house they will, you're in the way of a new factory? Fuck you. Your family's farm in the getting in the way of factory profits? Time to move. Just ask the residents of Llanwyddyn and Tryweryn. Even today if we take even a passing example of nationalised industry we see the same apathy and hubris. The Chinese state's power scheme from the Three Gorges Dam to the vast fields of solar power have caused unimaginable disasters for local fauna and flora. The workers from Beijing to Bristol, whether their live under free market capitalism it's state mandated reflect, are still treated as disposable playthings. Under their rule we'll always be kept in line with a mixture of pacification and de-radicalisation at the hands of trade unions and facilitation from the local constabulary when they get a bit too uppity.

The anarchist solution, as always, is rooted in placing authority at it's most local point. Industrial complexes such as the Port Talbot Steelworks would be collectivized by the workers and operated by the workers for the benefit of the communities local, regional, national and international. Coordinating with guilds and federations across the land to balance need and capacity, ensuring the materials are there when needed without starving the local labour pool in to maintain competitive standing in a growth market. This can't exist in a bubble, the revolution isn't an island and we lack the social courage for collectivisation to be on the cards for your average industrial worker, so for now we consider solidarity, for this is fabric upon which with ferment the liberated future.

Solidarity with the workers of Port Talbot, give the bastards hell, stand firm on the pickets and should your actions turn militant or find themselves being "facilitated" by the South Wales police I hope and expect you'll find many an anarchist stood beside you. ■

Reclaim the Power (RTP) is a UK based direct action network fighting for social, environmental and economic justice. In 2024, we're returning to the roots of the climate camp movement, targeting Drax power station - the target of the very first camp for climate action in 2006. Back then, it burned coal, but now it burns trees. Not only is it the UK's single biggest carbon emitter, but the production of the fuel it burns is a key driver of climate colonialism and environmental racism.

From the 8th -13th of August this summer, we're going to live, learn, and fight together, with 6 days of action, workshops, and communal living to help end Drax's eco-genocide. Everyone is welcome, and please invite your friends. Groups and individuals can help by hosting an outreach talk (get in touch with us on info@reclaimthepower.org.uk), encouraging others to come and donating to our crowdfunder at : *http://ko-fi.com/reclaimthepower.*

GREEN ANARCHY IN THE UK

Some questions.

How can we agitate, radicalise, activate and weaponise the increasing anger of those woken from slumber by the acrid smoke of a burning planet?

How can we spread and intensify moments of rupture in the social order that allow us break free and create spaces of liberation? How can these be used to weaken the forces that oppose us, not just momentarily, but enduring wounds to the systems of domination that can be exploited to magnify and multiply our movements?

How do we support the suspicious minds, those who know something is not quite right, revealing the hidden-in-plain-sight conspiracy of capitalism behind the alienation and dysfunction of our nonsensical society? How do we captivate their attention instead of dismissing their misdirection?

How can we forge connections with other struggles here and around the world so we can learn together and nourish each other, respecting our diversity of context while strengthening our unity of purpose? How do we spread our branches while deepening our roots?

How do we weave the social warp with the ecological weft, one binding and reinforcing the other instead of pulling apart? How do we learn to reconnect with nature, seeing ourselves as vital components of our ecosystems, proud members our biological communities, beautiful biospheric inhabitants?

How do we move from shallow climate populism to radical ecological anarchism? How do we build mass movements without sacrificing our ideals, finding the quantity needed to be effective without losing essential quality of being radically affective? How do we set our sights higher while keeping view of the beautiful idea ever on the horizon?

How do we shift the strategic terrain from civil disobedience to ecological resistance, from accountable to anonymous, from public disruption to property destruction?

How do we do all of this in the shadow of increasingly powerful authoritarian states and corporations, with rapidly advancing technologies of surveillance and social control? How can we maintain a spirit of defiant resistance in the face of such threats and not succumb to their attempts to project omnipotence and crush our imagination?

Once the cradle of capitalism, the historic heart of empire, the nursery of neoliberalism, how do we transform the belly of the beast into the hotbed of insurrection and sedition, of genuine rebellion?

How do we foment green anarchy in the UK? ■

EARTHFIRST.UK
EARTHFIRSTLONDON@RISEUP.NET

ORGANISE THEN AND NOW

We have published retrospectives on Organise a couple of times before, to coincide with the 10th and 20th anniversaries of the AF and the then Anarchist Communist Federation (issue nos. 42 and 67) whilst in the 30th anniversary issue (no. 87) we chose to focus on organisational and political aspects, as well as members' recollections about our organisation and why they joined. We have not quite reached the AF's 40th which comes in 2 years' time, but Organise 100 gives us an opportunity to review what has changed in our main regular publication.

As we have reiterated, the original purpose of our magazine was to sit between the agitational 'in your face' rag and the heavier theoretical journal, aimed at the reader who doesn't need to be convinced how bad our life is under capitalism and the state, who is looking for more information and a closer view of the class struggle.

This said, Organise in its early days was mainly a platform for the AF's positions, although we encouraged letters and commissioned occasional pieces from outside the organisation. We also spent many pages on critiques of the various left-wing organisations, especially in the UK, and notably the Trotskyists who wielded power in some struggles such as the anti-Poll Tax campaign of the late 1980s and who were present on most of the same national and local demos as anarchists. To pursue that approach now, where so many diverse voices are there be heard and the reach is so much more international, would no doubt seem quaint and self-obsessed.

Still, the themes of war, nationalism, and economic woes are constant. Earlier in Organise magazine's history we witnessed the break-up of the Soviet Union and the ending of Apartheid in South Africa, the Good Friday Agreement, the Balkan Wars, 9/11 and its aftermath. We reported on working class responses to various waves of economic crises and the introduction of repressive laws, with repeated attacks on labour. Geopolitical changes, in particular with the growth of state capitalism in China, prompted the publication of Beyond Resistance, a Manifesto for the Millennium, which asked what the new world order might look like.

At the end of the 1990s, globalisation became a focus for sustained solidarity, and anarchists played their part, notably in the J18 Global Day of Action in financial centres on June 18th 1999, followed by the more well known N30 that included global protests against the machinations of the World Trade Organisation, notably in the USA during the WTO Ministerial Conference in Seattle.

In 2000, the AF joined the International of Anarchist Federations (Internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes) which was, at the time, a mostly European initiative of anarchist communists with a firm historical footing. The next two decades saw growth in IFA's Eastern Europe and Latin America membership which has continued to this day with some ups and downs. An Organise special issue 'Long Live the International' was published in 2005 to celebrate and inform readers about IFA (issue no. 65). Later issues, nos. 78 & 79, covered the large international gathering of anarchists in Switzerland, at St-Imier, which was inspired by a commemoration of the 1872 congress in the same town that had consolidated the approach of the anarchist split from the Marxists in the First International. AF members participated in the gathering and IFA held its Congress during the same weekend. The pages of Organise continued to present reports about important developments such as the reemergence of organised anarchism in Cuba (issue nos. 86 & 88) and the 'Three Bridges' Balkan and Mediterranean conference in Crete in 2015 (issue no. 86).

A feature of the early to mid-2000s was growth in environmental activism. The AF already had a history of focus on climate struggle and embraced a meeting of minds with different anarchist groups and Earth First! in the context of Class War Federation's decision to dissolve itself, a conference that became known as Bradford '98. 7 years later, as the British state was reeling from the terrorist attacks in London at the end of the Gleneagles G8 summit in July 2005, Earth First! activists began the series of Camps for Climate Action which became a major focus for opposing fossil fuels. During the same period, No Borders migrant solidarity became an important cause for anarchists which sought to draw an ideological line in the sand on European immigration policy, whilst Defy-ID fought yet another attempt by British governments, this time a Labour one, to impose national identify cards. During this time the pages of Organise covered the impressive local resistance to Shell on the West coast of Ireland, the Rossport solidarity campaign, whilst we analysed both Green Capitalism and Grassroots Environmentalism (issue no. 78). A boost to anarchism in the late 2010s was the financial crisis that subsequently increased our membership, with large numbers of students who were pissed off with the encumbent Tory/LibDem coalition joining our organisation.

The next decade or so proved to be quite painful for the AF. Some of the new blood in the organisation wanted to move faster, not without reason, and we struggled with an internal initiative 'Out of the Shadows' that was more Platformist than the majority of the membership wanted to be (see 25 years of the AF, issue no. 77, for a summary). In the same year, 2011, we lost our dear and influential comrade Bob Miller (obituary also in no. 77). The next issue, no. 78, has already been mentioned with respect to the 2012 St-Imier international event, but this also provides evidence of some soul-searching, or at least some open thinking, about the next steps for anarchist communism in the UK, clearly prompted by the loss of members following 'Out of the Shadows.'

We weren't prepared for the shocks that led to Brexit and a pandemic, maybe a little less surprised by the terrible consequences of protracted wars in the Middle East and Ukraine. All of these domestic and global events have surely shaped and challenged the possibilities of anarchism. The wars in Rojava and Ukraine in particular, in the context of increasing international connections, have demanded from anarchists a position on what meaningful solidarity means. Arguments persist whilst the reality is that Belarussian comrades have left IFA whilst our Kurdish comrades have increasingly found a place within it. We have attempted to look at some of these nuances in Organise, yet even mentioning that these differences exist in our movement can cause consternation.

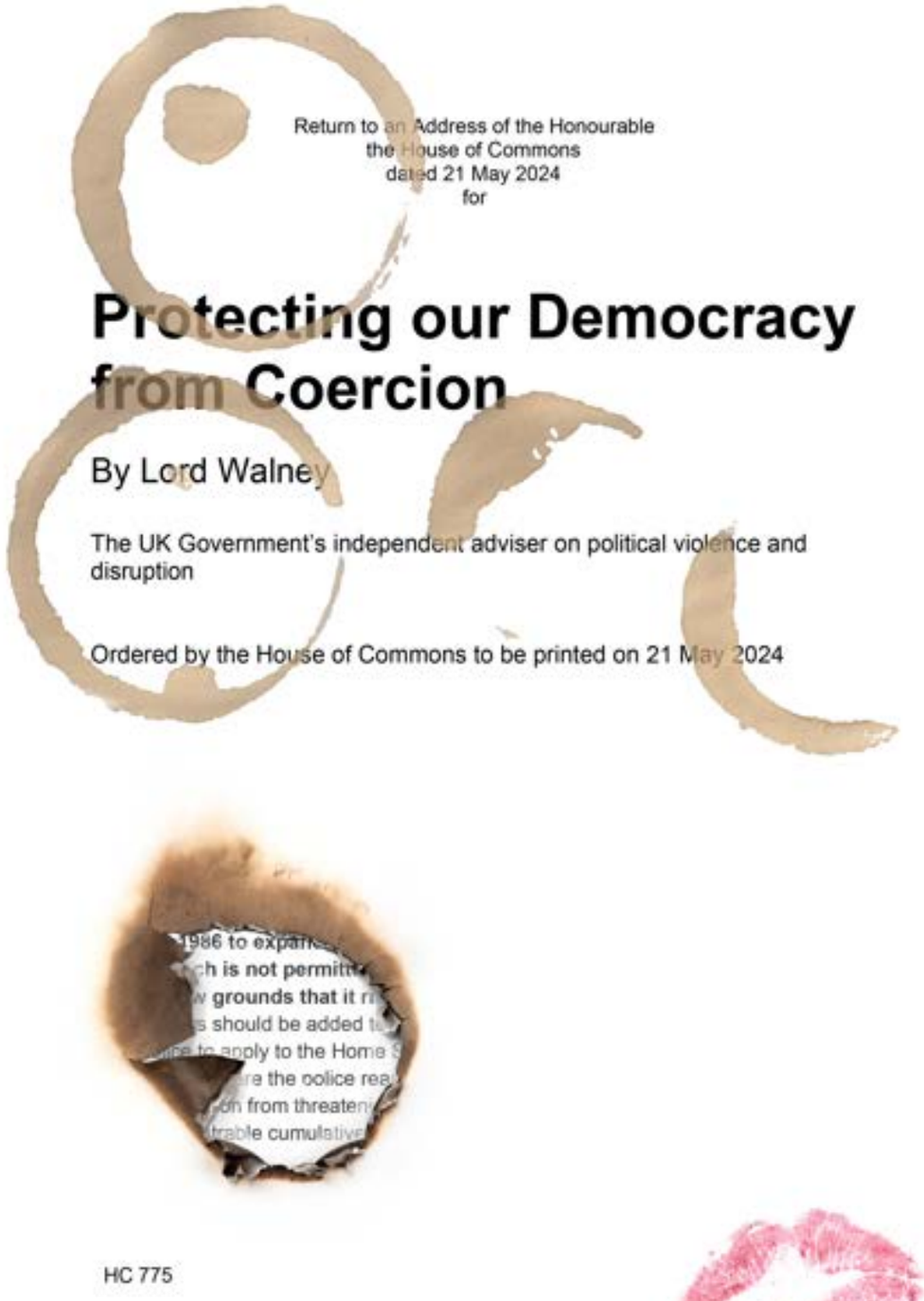
During this same time, we have witnessed and have been part of a new wave of gender liberation. In 2017, a number of members left the AF over arguments about gender politics, stemming from heated debates over intersectionality in struggle and attitudes to transgender issues. For some it was a step too far in the direction of identity politics, for others evidence that an organisation that had growth out of a predominantly class struggle worldview could not change. In the AF we have tried to respond positively and the pages of Organise are hopefully more diverse as a result.

Reading the new magazine since 2018 is to understand that to make the changes that were necessary, the Organise of today is not as ideologically clear as it once was, in terms of seeing this or that article as being what everyone in the AF believes to the letter, since there is evidence of more debate and questions don't all have answers. There is also a lot more art that requires interpretation, much of it from non-members, which is a far cry from the structured approach to readers' letters of the early issues. We have chosen to reproduce historical anarchist texts without major commentary. Whilst we do this, we still keep in mind the tradition of Organise to report on struggles and provide interesting content to support these. Some recent areas of note include Security Culture reflecting on the pandemic (issue no. 96), feminist struggle in Iran (issue no. 97), Operation Solidarity in Ukraine (issue no. 98) and Minority Languages (issue no. 99). Mainstays of Organise past and present are still in evidence, but we have expanded interest from reviews of books to graphic zines, music and games, for example.

So what's next for Organise magazine? The Internet already provides a lot of the content that activists may wish to read, so is there really a need for someone to curate it? It could be suggested that the legacy of desk-top publishing and the web is that there are many more content creators out there who could spark a revolt. However, States increasingly wish to control internet media, and algorithms attempt to feed us the messages that powerful forces want us to see and hear, whether those are commercial or governmental. And the Left is still active pushing a statist agenda as a solution to the ravages and inequalities of capitalism. So, we can maintain that there is still a need for the magazine format, less so than ever to push a party line, but to make sure the anarchist movement is seen as being historically informed, having good ideas for present situations, and giving hope and promise for a better future. ■

All of the Organise issues mentioned in this article can be found scanned in by The Sparrows' Nest Library and Archive, Nottingham. This project can easily found online.

Luther Blissett
Anarchist Federation
March 2024


Return to an Address of the Honourable
the House of Commons
dated 21 May 2024
for

Protecting our Democracy from Coercion

By Lord Walney

The UK Government's independent adviser on political violence and disruption

Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on 21 May 2024

HC 775

WALNEY ACCEPTANCE LETTER

With the release of Lord Walney's report on extremism, 'Protecting our Democracy from Coercion', the Anarchist Federation has finally been recognised for its hard work over the last few years. Particular merit must be given to our comrades in Bristol, who seem to have drawn particular recognition for their involvement in the Kill The Bill protests of 2021. Whilst the deeds reported by Walney were limited to advertising the event on social media and allegedly providing advice on how to 'frustrate the police investigation', it seems that Walney must have kept a great deal of additional details to themselves, given how prolific AFed is within the text and its citations.

Our pride and gratitude notwithstanding, we do have a few criticisms of the report that we would like to note. To temper expectations, we recognise that this document was written for the sake of the political class, and as such, it cannot be held to the standards of compassion and decency we might expect of real working people. We will here refrain from pointing out the contradictions in Walney's values, as anyone who believes that "complete liberty, individual freedom, and collective equality" are bad principles cannot be expected to demonstrate reason.

The report is almost 300 pages long, and as such, we cannot pass comment on all its contents. We will limit our criticisms to parts of the document referring to "Far Left and Anarchist" activities.

Whilst the document exudes the level academic rigour that we have come to expect from parliament, the quality of citations is distinctly substandard. Three of the hyperlinks that we tried to follow through were broken, and a much larger proportion than that linked to pages that no longer contained the information being cited, particularly in the case of the Extinction Rebellion website. We implore Walney in the future to make use of internet archiving tools and avoid such faux pas in the future. In a few particular cases were the articles had not changed since the citations were written, the information being demonstrated was never present; Walney states that "authorities' knowledge of the wider anarchist activist scene in the UK is limited", citing a 2015 Vice article that simply does not say those words or anything to that effect. One also has to question how relevant an article from 2015 can be in demonstrating the authorities' knowledge 9 years later.

The document regularly cites a paper by Daniel Allignton and David Toube titled "British Far-Left: A Study Of A Political Ecosystem" that was commissioned especially for the sake of this report. This paper is relied upon to avoid having to provide justification for many of the claims made that would fall flat without academic review, such as "[Understanding the Far Left] as a subculture [...] in a political sense, where members believe certain forms of political action [...] are more authentic than representative democracy" and "this tactic of deliberate property damage is best understood as a modern manifestation of the 19th century insurrectionary anarchist concept of 'propaganda by the deed'". Whilst there might well be truth in such statements, it is very difficult to assess that given that the paper upon which all those statements rest is presently unpublished. Citing a paper that only the author has access to does not make for a compelling argument.

Whilst we are sure Lord Walney is incredibly busy and tried their best, the report feels as though it was distinctly under-research throughout. A huge proportion of the (working) citations come from the 'About Us' pages of the organisations under discussion, as though Walney did little more than the bare minimum of internet searching before writing this report. Lending credence to this are a number of occasions were Malney demonstrates themself to be ignorant of the topic at hand. For example, Walney states "Left-Wing, Anarchist and Single-Issue terrorism encompasses a broad range of motivating ideologies and includes both centrist and decentralised groups", which only makes sense if you have no understanding of what centrism means (which is quite astonishing for a professional politician).

Walney also states "Far Left protest is [...] commonly expressed through its involvement in single issue campaigning groups and social movements rather than through traditional groups advocating a revolutionary political platform", which forces one to ask what Malney believes a traditional protest is about and what examples exist of protestors rallying behind banners of general political reform to make up that supposed majority.

Whilst we hope that Walney will be able to improve their work moving forwards, we recommend that government reports going forward are held to a slightly higher standard than GCSE English literacy papers. Whilst not unusual for such a report or the essay of a 15-year-old , Walney clearly began this process with a conclusion already written and a handful of relevant events that their audience were expecting them to trot out.

What followed was a heartless process of slapping together the quickest route between the two. "Informal, leaderless networks are by definition difficult to disrupt" and "however urgently people feel about climate change, indifference to the lives of others like this is selfish and likely also counterproductive" are simply bad writing, and read as parroted phrases that made the author think they sounded intelligent.

Walney regularly drops into first person to deliver his heartfelt opinions in the rare occasion that the evidence was so thin he couldn't justify pretending it was fact: "In my view, there is no justification for violence and lawbreaking, no matter how noble the cause." As a final insult, the document's proofing is abysmal, and formatting woefully inconsistent. We particularly found amusement in Walney's decision to sic a missing apostrophe from the ER website, despite having written "Just Stop Oil's 'Blue Lightspolicy has been criticised' by paramedics after ambulances have been caught in tailbacks. Moreover, not everyone in the movement agrees with the 'Blue Light's policy" just two paragraphs before.

The report is also distinctly inconsistent as to whether it is trying to present a narrative or listing facts from sentence to sentence. Some paragraphs feel as though they've been move around without any attempt to rework them to fit the new context, and as such, it's often difficult to follow the through line of Malney's arguments. The section 'Anti-Racism – Black Lives Matter' particularly fails to maintain direction. We recommend that the government hire some editors to point out these basic issues.

Of course, none of this criticism adequately addresses the vile politics on show here. Malney's report totally equates any law-breaking with extremism, in a move that intends to justify the use of increasing violence, the likes of which the public generally think should be reserved to those presenting an immediate threat to the health of others, against protestors who cause property damage or financial loss. Whilst Malney regularly expresses concern about these organisations inspiring lone actors to commit acts of violence, he seems to be entirely oblivious to the fact that his own paper encourages the police to do the same.

Thank you for your time, we hope you continue to enjoy our social media and trembling at the throught of our every action on the street. The free rent is also quite helpful during these times of austerity and rampant class war.

All the best.

Your friendly local extremists*
Anarchist Federation

** Extremistm here meaning a believe in the the fundamental right of each individual to lobby, protest, and take action against acts of injustice, brutality and totalitarianism from the state.* ■

3RD ANNUAL WEEKEND OF DISTROING SHIT JULY 12-14

Fire up your printers or scrape together spare change with your friends and run to your local library to print out a hefty stack of your favorite zines. In a world dominated by death machines opening spaces antagonistic to this world is vital. Think of this as a decentralized anarchist bookfair with presence anywhere and everywhere someone is willing to set up a table and share lit and material that push against the existent.

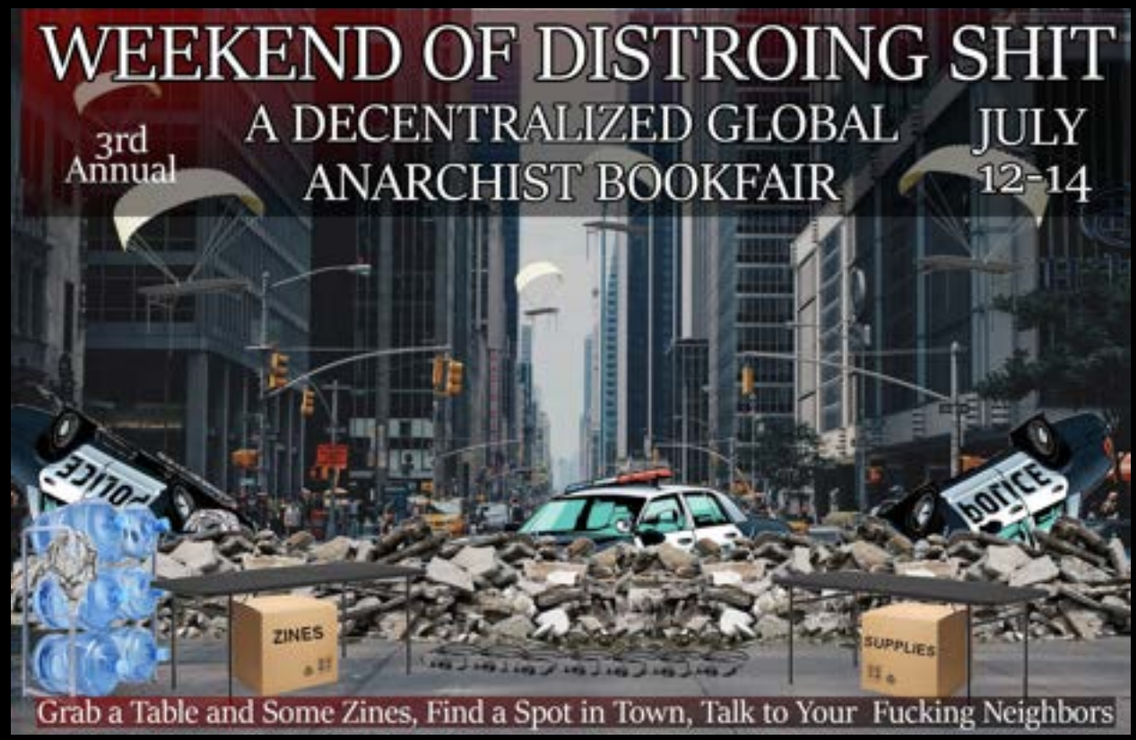
Whether you're a seasoned distroist or you've been wanting to try but need some external motivation this event is for you. Tabling for the first time can be intimidating and knowing others are doing it at the same time in a bunch of other places can make it a little easier!

A major thrust of this project is the desire to push us to consider all terrains and locales as meaningful/viable points of struggle. Wherever we find ourselves is as good a place to fight as any, we just need to be willing to try. Small town or big city, this event is for you.

Take this as an opportunity to get to know your town/ neighborhood/city better. Try to think differently about the space/architecture around you. What are meaningful locations or intersections and why are they important? Where and how might your presence have a significant impact?

Take this as an opportunity to organize with someone new with lower stakes. Learn how you work together, how you might navigate conflicting visions/ move through frustration. Practice holding debriefs or writing reportbacks afterwards. Read a dang book and talk to your neighbors! So scheme with your friends about what you want to share. Fundraise if you need, reach out for help/advice. Do what you can to make this event accessible. If you don't want to take part but someone else does throw some cash their way, help set up/break down, help gather supplies.

Some ideas of what people have tabled in the past: Zines, Posters, Stickers, Masks/Covid tests, Harm reduction supplies, Clothing (both everyday and bloc), Food, Goggles/gloves/ear plugs, Art supplies, Patches, Sewing equipment, Rocks... Anything you can get your hands on and want to share!



INTERNATIONAL ROUND-UP

Argentina

Protests against ultra-neoliberal president Javier Milei and his 'Libertarian' Party continue, after coming to power in an election late last year his 'Anarcho-Capitalist' policies have led to a huge decrease in the quality of life, the defunding of public services and many people losing their jobs and homes. General Strikes were called in January and May of this year but the deregulation of the economy seems to have continued. Right wing appropriators of terms like Libertarian and Anarchist live a lie while the real manifestation of these politics is just the continuation of police repression and economic violence.

Catalonia (Barcelona)

A massive win for locals and anti-gentrification activists, it has been announced that in 2028 all licences for tourist apartment rentals will be revoked. This win has come after a hard fought campaign over the years by a wide coalition of groups including anarchists, who've occupied properties and held demonstrations against the preposterous rise in the cost of housing. Rentals have been increasing by up to 70% and housing purchase prices increasing by 40% in the last decade.

France

Protests against the construction of the A69 motorway in Castres and Toulouse in south west France have been disrupted by police violence, over 1600 police officers have been deployed and widespread use of tear gas has been utilised to harm protestors. A handful of injuries have been reported and one police officer was injured by a molotov cocktail. The French state fear that the tactics of ZAD "zone to defend" will be utilised successfully here too as they have been elsewhere in the country.

Kanaky (New Caledonia)

In the French colony of New Caledonia, the Indigenous Kanaky people have long fought for their independence, after three failed referendums 2018, 2020 and 2021 a new potential amendment to voting rights which would potentially allow new arrivals, largely from the French mainland, to vote in New Caledonia's elections has been viewed as a provocation and delegitimization of the the voices of New Caledonians, especially the Kanaky people who are now a minority compared to largley French settlers.

Image: Associated Press

Image: Christian Bellavia

Image: France TV

France has a vested interest in holding onto this territory as the island is notably one of the world's largest producers of Nickel.

This controversial bill has led to widespread protests, and a police curfew culminating in the destruction of property through arson, notably targeted towards 2 french car dealerships, a bottling plant and the looting of several supermarkets and the burning down of a police station. Reportedly after police were shot at during a demonstration, a man in his 40s was killed by police. So far, at least nine people have died (six of whom were at protests) 212 police have been wounded and at least 150 million pounds in economic damage has been done to property.

Kenya

As 400 Kenyan cops land in Haiti to bring their "peace, back home at least 200 people have been injured, with at least 100 arrests and one protester being murdered by the police in demonstrations against president William Ruto's tax increases, since the start of his term in 2022 he has introduced several additional taxes. This new tax bill is aimed at collecting over 1 billion pounds in revenue from the Kenyan public to fill a gap in the national budget Including a 16% tax on bread and an annual 2.5% tax on vehicles and a tax on sanitary towels, however the protests began with an initial wave of success as many of these unpopular policies were scrapped after the first few days of unrest.

However the working class of Kenya have not shown any sign of stopping, following even more police violence which left at least 5 dead. Protestors stormed the parliament building, overpowered the security forces and started fires. President Ruto has brought out the Military to bring more bloodshed to the people.

Nigeria

Nigeria's trade unions called a nationwide strike in June, causing the closure of airports, schools, health services and crude oil production causing a huge amount of economic losses to the Nigerian Economy.

The strike was suspended when the government offered a wage increase that would double the previous minimum wage from 30,000 naira to 60,000 naira (£30.66) however, in the backdrop of staggering inflation this victory is likely bittersweet.

Image: Dyepkazah Shibayan

Photo by Tommy L.

ALL EYES ON RAFAH

Tommy Lawson
Geelong Anarchist Communists
May 2023

The following article is a transcript of a speech given by Geelong Anarchist Communists member Tommy Lawson at an Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN) 'Rally for Rafah' held on Saturday 11th of May. Its content is supported unanimously by Geelong Anarchist Communists. GAC decided published this piece on the 76th anniversary of the Nakba ('catastrophe') to declare that we stand with those resisting genocide and colonisation.

During al Nakba over 750,000 Palestinian people, from a total population of 1.9 million, were made refugees beyond the borders of their homeland. 530 villages and cities were raised and ethnically cleansed between 1947 and 1949, and roughly 15,000 Palestinians were murdered in more than 70 massacres and widespread indiscriminate killings. Today, the cycle repeats. More people have died at the hands of the IDF and the Israeli state in the last few months following October 7 than during the Nakba, and almost every safe dwelling and source of sustenance in Gaza has been either utterly destroyed or completely cut off from use. Just as we remember the Nakba today, so we will remember Gaza tomorrow.

Comrades, I do not need to tell you that things are terrible, that times are dark and that monsters stalk the world. Over the past seven months we have seen horrors that will never be forgotten. Today, in Rafah, we are witness to the culmination of Israel's imperialist, colonial war.

If, like me, you are in your thirties or younger, never has war been so vividly portrayed nor marked upon our imagination. We are witness to real time live streaming of genocide.

All the horrid specters of the past have come true. All the tragedies we were told would never be repeated. That humanity has learnt its lessons. Every school child learnt about genocide, of the holocaust. But what so many swore would never happen again, is indeed, happening again.

There are images forever seared into our memories. Blindfolded men chained together in stadiums, doctors murdered with their hands tied behind their backs, mass graves, families crushed beneath the rubble and so, so many innocent children.

When things are so dire, so desperate, it is easy to lose hope. Palestine stands alone on the world stage, while Israel receives the support of western governments. Palestine has been effectively abandoned by every state but Yemen. But, for all they have endured, the people of Palestine have not surrendered.

The battle rages on. While we do not agree with the politics or strategies of all factions of the Palestinian resistance, the heroism of those who today struggle against colonization and occupation should be applauded.

People who fight with homemade weapons against an internationally backed, technologically advanced military, who have given their lives defending refugee camps and hospitals against genocidal maniacs.

This is not terrorism, this is bravery and valor and sacrifice of the highest order. If Palestine continues the fight, so must we.

So what does it mean to fight in Australia today? It means recognising where our power lies. Not with the Labor Party or any politicians. There's only one force powerful enough to make change – the working class. Australian workers were once far more engaged in their unions and practiced in solidarity and struggle. We fought apartheid in South Africa. We fought Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and Japanese imperialism in China. We can do it again.

Today, by flexing our industrial muscle we can hurt Israel, the Zionists and their supporters.. Boycotts, pickets and strikes are all weapons that can help to cripple Israel and the IDF. Economic isolation will do a thousand times the damage of another UN resolution. The union movement is not as strong today as it was in the past, but reports from all across the country suggest organising around Palestine has been bringing people in! The fight against colonialism and the class struggle are part of the same struggle!

Things have taken an impressive turn in the last fortnight. Starting in the USA, the very heart of the empire, students at Columbia University began occupying their campuses, stating their intention to stay put until the university cut all ties with Israel.

Since Columbia began, occupations have spread all across the globe. They have fought police, Zionists and fascists. American students have risen in revolt in a way unseen for generations. People who were toddlers at the time we started reading books on imperialism are now fighting the system. They are, to use that radical 60s slogan, bringing the war home.

Now there are at least 7 occupied universities in Australia, one of them being Deakin! Geelong campus may be untouched yet. But we know this cities ties with genocide. Deakin works with multiple companies that supply the IDF, the deputy prime minister, Corio MP and minister for war, Richard Marles is an avid Zionist supporter.

Well, I don't know about you, but I will not be complicit in the massacre of children. I am not okay with Geelong becoming a base for imperialist war manufacturing!

You know, during the Spanish Revolution a journalist interviewed a mechanic named Buenaventura Durruti, who was also a fighter in the militias. Reflecting on the destruction of the civil war he said a most remarkable thing. I quote,

> *'The bourgeoisie may blast and burn the earth before the leave the stage of history. But we are not afraid of ruins. We built this world and we can build it again. Better this time. We carry a new world in our hearts'.*

He was right. The Zionists and their capitalist allies may destroy Gaza, but the whole world will carry her in their hearts forever more. We will avenge Gaza by making the revolution, by cleansing the world of imperialism and colonialism and making the world anew. We will demolish their factories of war and pour all the resources into ensuring all those children's lives were not in vain, that others may grow to live in peace and know justice and freedom.

One last thing comrades. Our prime minister, Anthony Albanese once purported to be a student progressive. He even led rallies fighting for the rights of Palestinians. Now, he has given in to Zionism and is repeating that common, wretched argument that 'from the river to the sea' is an anti-Semitic slogan. It does not even need repeating why that is complete bullshit, or what it says about the integrity of the Labor government.

So to Anthony, I say;

From the river, to the sea.

From Palestine, to West Papua

From Beirut to Yemen

From Columbia to Deakin University

From Geelong, to Gaza.

All power to the resistance!' ■

Piper Tomkins
Anarchist Union Journal
March 2023

WHAT SOLUTION FOR PALESTINE

It's called the "Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" as if it is a clash between rival ethnic groups over religion, territory, or some combination thereof. Even if the media has wanted to paint it this way, that is not what the so-called conflict really is. In 1948 the state of Israel was formed after hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were expelled from their homes and villages and to this day have not been permitted to return. In the decades since that event the state of Israel has grown only by conquering more and more of historic Palestine. Now the vast majority of that region is part of Israel, under de facto, or de jure Israeli occupation, or the site of internationally illegal Israeli settlements.

The so-called "conflict" is really the colonial expulsion of Palestinians from land on which they already lived to pave the way for an exclusively Jewish state, with the vast majority of rights and privileges in this state enjoyed by Ashkenazi (European) Jews, and Jewish settlements on that land. The zionist movement was undoubtedly born in the 19th century out of the need for European jews to find safe haven from violent antisemitism on the continent, a need that only grew stronger with the perpetration by the Nazis of the holocaust in which European Jewry was nearly wiped out. Jewish people undoubtedly have a connection to historic Palestine as a result of their religious traditions. None of this, however, changes the fact that the state of Israel only exists via the removal of the Palestinian people from historic Palestine.

The very reason 1,200 Israeli civilians were killed and over 200 of them taken hostage, is because not only does Israel exist because of the expulsion of Palestinians from their ancestral homes, but Israel for the last 12 years has enforced a blockade on the Gaza strip that has destroyed it's industry and severely limited access to food, water, and medicine for the Palestinian residents of one of the most densely populated regions of the world. The zionist narrative that has found wide hearing in the media since the attack is that Hamas, the Islamic political party and armed group that has controlled Gaza since 2007, primarily exists to eradicate the Jews. It is not much different, according to this narrative, from ISIS, or even the Nazis. The massacre that took place on October 7th indeed makes this narrative look plausible to many uninformed individuals watching the headlines.

This narrative is in fact wrong. Hamas my be antisemitic, Hamas may have also made the twisted calculation that targeting Israeli civilians is a legitimate political tactic, but it is not ISIS. It has secular political goals that have nothing to do with the establishment of world-wide Islamic rule to occasion the rapture. It is also not comparable to the Nazis. Despite its violent tactics and extreme rhetoric Hamas has never been bent on annihilating the Jews. Hamas is an organization that came about in its modern form as a resistance organization, specifically to resist the Israeli settler colonial project. In fact, its goal no longer even appears to be the eradication of Israel as its 2017 charter, while still stressing the need to liberate all of historic Palestine, capitulates to a two-state solution.

The October 7th attack was Hamas' attempt to break the military status quo ante in which Israel continued to blockade Gaza prompting Hamas to respond with attacks, serving to justify Israel in launching retaliatory

operations in which many more Palestinian civilians were killed. This strategy allowed Israel to refuse to sit at the negotiating table and continue to pursue a purely military solution to the "conflict", i.e. further repression, murder, and expulsion of Palestinians. Scholars have coined a term for what Hamas carried out on October 7; "subaltern genocide". This refers to uprisings of an oppressed population that include massacres of the civilians among the dominant group. Other examples are slave rebellions in which women and children were killed. Often the idea that what Hamas did was an act of resistance is scoffed at by pointing out how the targets were festival going civilians, but in no other context do we expect resistance to be mutually exclusive with targeting civilians. Disqualifying slave revolts that targeted white civilians as acts of resistance in virtue of the fact that civilians were targeted is obviously confused. So is the presupposition that resistance needs to be morally virtuous and discriminating. The phenomenon of subaltern genocide shows that conditions of oppression have the ability to drive their victims to do morally condemnable things in order to put an end to their morally condemnable condition.

The above considerations give us reason to think that not only is Israel's settler colonial project the primary cause of the displacement, poverty, and massacre the Palestinians have been experiencing since 1948, but it was also the impetus for attacks carried out by groups like Hamas, including the carnage of October 7 2023. So the question becomes what to do about it. Ever since the Arab-Israeli conflict and Pan-Arabism faded from the geopolitical scene the Palestinians have reasserted their right to self-determination through the formation of Fatah and it's take over of the Palestinian Liberation Organization as well as, perhaps more significantly, two large-scale Palestinian uprisings referred to as the first and second "intifadas" respectively. This led to the so-called "peace process", primarily through the Oslo Accords, in which in exchange for territorial concessions on both sides and Palestinian recognition of Israel, Palestinians were promised an eventual state of their own on their historic territory (that is not already part of Israel). This is the so-called "two state solution".

The idea behind the two-state approach is that neither the right of the Israelis, nor that of the Palestinians to self-determination is denied. Both are granted the right to be citizens of a sovereign state of their own. Today this solution is usually assumed to be one that returns Israel to the borders it had before the 1967 war that allowed it to take control of Gaza and the Westbank, so that these territories can integrate into the future Palestinian state. The two-state solution is the one preferred by many western countries, including the United States which remains Israel's greatest world ally. However, there are serious problems with this proposal.

Firstly, the current Israeli government certainly has no political will for the creation of a Palestinian state, never mind going back to pre-67 borders. It is a government dominated by far-right neo-Kahanist elements, many of whom are interested in the project of colonial conquest of Gaza. But this is actually the smallest issue facing two-states. Since 1967 Israeli settlers backed by the Israeli state have illegally pilfered the land of the Westbank, such that there is barely any land for a Sovereign Palestinian state to exist on if said settlements aren't rolled back. The more fundamental issue is an issue that Palestinians have always had with this solution in that it requires them to recognize that an entity premised for it's very existence on making them into refugees be allowed to exist in perpetuity.

Some have thought a more attractive option is the so-called "one-state solution". Putting aside the extremist zionist version of this solution that essentially just amounts to the total eradication of the Palestinians in historic Palestine, the one-state solution as preferred by some Palestinians and leftists calls for the end of Israel as a distinct Jewish state in favor of a binational sovereign political entity in which Jews and Palestinians have equal rights and access to democratic participation. The advantage of this approach over the two-state solution is it sees the abolition of Israel as a settler colonial project while in theory preserving the rights of Jewish people living in the region. The problem that most one-state proponents seem not to appreciate is the irreconcilable contradiction at the heart of its approach.

Modern states are nation-states, including Israel and any future, or hypothesized Palestinian state. Nationalism is an exclusivist ideology. One and one group only is defined as made up of citizens of the nation to be politically represented and guaranteed rights. Anyone else who wishes to receive this representation,

or rights must complete the process of becoming a citizen, or else they are denied rights and representation. This has historically allowed for all kinds of discrimination, including outright racism against those who are non-citizens. This exclusionary element of nationalism is indeed what allows Israel to cast itself as a state for the Jews and nobody else, indeed how included non-European Jews should be is questionable within its self-conception. This means that the one-state solution requires a "bi-national" state, despite the fact

that nationalism is inherently exclusionary, defining some as outside the bounds of representation through and rights under the rule of the state. Even the Soviet Union's claim to "multinational" statehood was a farce, not least because it was controlled from the Kremlin.

Here we should come to the question of why we should even think in statist terms at all. Palestinians have historically wanted a state, but not for its own sake. They wanted a state because they believed it to be the only way they could finally achieve self-determination. Indeed there is a historical tradition of national liberation movements aiming to and successfully replacing colonies with independent nation-states. While these movements did end formal colonialism throughout much of the world, it's hard to say that those living under the "new nations" have "self-determination". Just look at African politics. It's hardly self-determination to live impoverished under clientelist regimes that frequently cannibalize themselves in coups.

There is just no escaping the absolute inadequacy of statism and nationalism for resolving questions of social justice. Here the Anarchist tradition has an old proposal that looks much more promising. The Anarchists thought that nation-states should be replaced by federations of regional assemblies. These are not bureaucratic, hierarchical, coercive bodies, but freely associated regional assemblies that network together through elected delegates that, rather than making decisions on the assemblies' behalf, carry out the decisions the assemblies make themselves. Such an institutional structure would entail voluntary relations between the people that form them and would thus have no need of any type of exclusivist ideology. It would also entail that all involved in these institutions get a full and equal say over all decisions of social organization.

If Anarchist federalism is combined with the right of return for Palestinian refugees to their ancestral homes and settlement rollbacks, we have a structure that accommodates both Palestinian self-determination in their ancestral homeland as well as the continued presence of Jewish residence in the region. So we get the democratic equality of the one-state solution and the recognition of the needs of both groups in the two-state solution, without the contradictory nationalism, concession to colonialism, and reliance on bankrupt statist approaches that weigh them down. This approach also gives us the dissolution of Hamas, who in addition to targeting civilians is an Islamist group that before the war maintained authoritarian control over the strip, and the unelected, largely conciliatory, autocratic rule of the Palestinian Authority in the Westbank, for free.

However, this approach, like any solution to the 'conflict', has its own unique challenges. Since this is an anti-state solution nobody with any political power, obviously not the Israeli government, not Fatah, not Hamas, not the UN, or US will have any interest or involvement in implementing it (thus also bypassing issues of the political will of largely indifferent, or ineffectual political elites). It is also not a purely political solution unlike the others. This kind of anti-state federalism entails social control over the region's production so that the self-organized regional bodies can make decisions about the region's productive activity. Thus it can only be brought about via social revolution, not only in historic Palestine, but across the world. Thus it will take much struggle in the intermediate term to achieve. It will probably entail a third palestinian uprising as nobody that claims to "represent" the Palestinians and thus make decisions on their behalf can be substituted in the Anarchist framework for the Palestinians themselves.

Such an uprising likely won't be in the immediate future as Gazans are being murdered by the thousands in Israel's colonial war on the strip. Key to Palestinians even having the ability to fight back will be the efforts of an international movement outside historic Palestine for boycott, divestment, and sanctions on Israel. There will be no prospect of resistance if Israel's already terrifying military capability is further developed by international support. The Anarchist movement in the United States in particular, is tasked with sabotaging the United States' recalcitrant material and political support for Israel. This international pressure against support of Israel by foreign governments is something we should all already be working to mount. We need more pro-Palestinian protests to make it as politically expensive as possible for our governments to continue to support Israel and not pressure it for a ceasefire to end it's colonial war on the strip. The lives of Palestinian men, women, and children are at stake. ■

Peter Ó Máille
Anarchist Federation
May 2024

ENCAMPMENT

You never forget your first police violence.

Some of us, we grown up with the boot tight on our throat, casually accepting the daily PMCs and pushing about, cops and security watching your every step in town and vans of thugs shoving you to the ground on the slightest provocation. We accept it as the background music to our lives, whether we rally against it or accept it, reality none the less. We know before we're teens that nothing pisses the policeman off more than staring that fucker in the eye and refusing to bow to his authority it's woven into the tapestry of estate living early. Still, that first police violence comes as a shock, the last residue of the persistent lie "The policeman is there to defend you" is ripped away with a snarl and a snap as the baton comes down and it leaves a scar in your mind.

We know the state won't keep us safe, but that the reality still knocks you sick. PC Plod will knock your teeth out and laugh about it later.

For some, their lives are little more charmed, I don't hate them for it, it's the circumstances of their birth, still it's the first thing I hear about the wave of protests, occupations and encampments that has ramped up over the past week or so.

That was the first salvo.

These kids have money.

They are not like you.

Look at their privilege.

I read it from reactionaries looking to dismiss them as impotent spoilt children and I read it from the "left", who either seek to dismiss them on lines of privilege or vanity. I read it from Anarchists keen to reduce the "libs" for not agitational enough (something near always proclaimed by people not involved in anything) or because they've not taken to our chosen tactics or argue our case for us.

"If they wanted divestment, they'd leave the comfort their privilege brings, quit college, live elsewhere..." blah blah blah the same circumlocutive distraction pieces the reactionaries always bring, chalk it up there with "protestors in nice clothing" or "povos with a flat screen"

Here in the UK, a certain-set of anarchists declare solidarity with the people of Palestine tacit nationalism and seek to shame anarchists who march/protest under the flag. The internationalist solidarity of these anarchists being as deep as a puddle of piss they look upon "Pro-Palestinian" actions as "Pro-Hamas" and mewl "Neither Israel, nor Hamas" offering the same tears for the dead as the politicians who beam at the few parcels of aid they drop on the victims of the very instruments of suffering they continue selling. "Toffy spoilt libs supporting terrorists" I read, as no doubt, many others did.

Palestinians aren't Hamas any more than Jewish people are Israel. The nationalist twist seeks to make the state/authority and the peoples one, but this is, and always has been, a lie used to excuse the most horrific courses of action, and to excuse inaction, where solidarity is

checked by the echoes of nationalist logic and pathetic mumbling about flags.

Oh you can hold the casus belli of the horrific and unconscionable terrorism of October 7 up as an excuse all you want, but the vicious and genocidal continuing onslaught of the Israeli state should shock anyone with a moral compass. It cannot be justified with any honesty. It's pure callus vengeance fuelled by racism and reductive conjunction of peoples and state.

Those who profiteer from such reckless brutality are the enemy of all people of conscience and Ivy league they might be, these kids know this and decided to act. They';ve have watched in horror for months, as we all have, the bodies of children pulled from rubble, the manufactured famine laying waste, the vitriolic rage and racism of settlers and fundamentalists barely restrained by their merely nationalist and patriotic compatriots.

They have anger in their eyes, behind the tears and the pain. It's fire.

They can't affect that war, but they can affect the policies of their institutions.

And so they took action.

It started April 17 the "Gaza Solidarity Encampment" kicked off at Columbia University (New York), before most people had even heard about it the university president gave the green light for police response.

Then the bulls rocked up and gave these kids of privilege a new first memory.
The right wing so opposed to the violence of a tent, delighted in police aggression.

The method is clear, "Shock and Subdue" is a doctrine, 90% of the time, that would of been it. Put them in their place, the protest comes and goes like so many.

Didn't fucking work tho did it.
These kids held fast.

We know that nothing pisses the policeman off more than staring that fucker in the eye and refusing to bow to his authority.

The camp was re-established the next day on the adjacent lawn. Later on they took a building.

No sinister figures coordinated this. No liberal agenda to have a few days of protest.

It's autonomous rage targetted at specific institutions with specific achievable demands. It's fucking beautiful and rather than spit vinegar, it's been delightful see a different set of Anarchists stepping up and getting onboard, they've been part of these camps without distracting from the focus, elsewhere they've lead the way, distros have made a point to get on down stalling encampments, book stores offering free shipments of lit, fundraisers shared and solidarity being expressed. Actual solidarity existing and making shit happen.

And so the second salvo comes in, administrative punishments and attempts to undermine popular support by labelling these peaceful protests as something fuel by hate.

The university started handing out suspensions and locking people out of their housing.

The press reported Anti-Semitism hurled at students, things like "Free Palestine" and "Stop Genocide". A few agitators-cum-marytrs try to sacrifice themselves to the "anti-Semitic mob" by walking into the demo with Israeli flags or T-shirts declaring there are Jewish.

These videos are hilarious as no one bats an eye, and in one you can see the sacrifice standing their all expectant as people barely look up from their books and behind her you can see people tidying up their "Jews for Palestine" banner. If they'd bothered to look they'd of realised the occupation would have a large number of Jewish students participating, they were keenly and actively practising their faith alongside Muslim and Christian students.

Further to this the camp would pro-actively remove actually anti-semitic sovereign citizens who came along trying to co-opt things, Hamas supporting fundamentalists, as well as white supremacist Jackson Hinkle and red fash bellend Infrared Haz, who would then rather comically declare the occupations as Zionist for not platforming them.

For a liberal peaceful occupation, they're doing a cracking job of keeping out the wingnuts and despite the occasional breach, such as the fascists "citizen journos" and the odd idiot getting aggy or saying some shit they shouldn't, they continue holding themselves up against ridiculous media attention and police aggression

The media literacy and consciousness of organisers and attendees both has been bloody outstanding. Entirely aware of ' narrative exercises and the right wings troll punditry looking for that clip to spew ad infinitum, they're locked them out. The best they have is "THESE KIDS WONT TALK TO US, HAVE THEY BEEN SILENCED OR BRAINWASHED?", which can only possibly take them so far as even a casual browse of any of the live streams show you diligent youth, keeping the space clean, reacting to violence in the calmest of ways, and generally being legends.

By the 20th, student groups across the country were cooking up plans.

By the 22nd, Columbia would be joined by dozens of other occupation camps, over the following week this would see over a hundred camps across the US, from Ivy League Schools to Community Collages. Some in general solidarity or aligned with the anti-war position, some making demands upon their own institutional support for the Israeli state and it's military.

These are overwhelmingly peaceful demos, pretty much a part of student life.

The normal course of things, is leave them be, the energy waxing and waning, Protests happen, Especially amongst the student population, it's a time for many of political consciousness and capacity and each and ever educational body expects this.

Most camps have been overwhelming peace and handled with a degree of decency by their administrations. Some have chosen to placate their students, Brown (Rhode Island) offered to consider a vote in October (wild that this was seen as a victory), Rutger (New Jersey) agreeing to 8 of 10 demands, mostly around engaging with Palestinian students, increasing awareness etc and Evergreen (Washington) (The school Rachel Corrie attended) in fact agreed full divestment. Mostly tho, the default position has been maintained and administrations have acted earnestly and simply maintained security or light police presence "to keep everyone safe" as per the commonly accepted notions of peace and "order" in the liberal capitalist sense.

However elsewhere the violence steps up.

The universities Cal Poly (California), UTA (Texas), PSU (Oregon), UCLA (California), have all seen particular brutality at the hands of police with horrific violence being brought down on these camps.

When you refuse to submit to order, their only recourse is violence and they have carte blanche authority to secure "order".

A particularly disturbing event was the mob raid on UCLA.This came after right wing news feed Visegrád 24 shared footage taken by self proclaimed "Zionist" Eliana Jolkovsky, claiming that a woman had been surrounded by "five people wearing keffiyehs and bludgeoned in the head while they stomped on her Israeli flag" and that she "lost consciousness and was carried away" being sent to ER. This was a lie.

It's clear in footage that she and other nationalists are attacking a group of protestors behind a barricade, she is pulled away by her peers and falls over. She had a graze on her head and is quite conscious as someone wrapped her head in enough bandages that Saul Goodman would have been delighted. Now of course any head injury should be taken seriously, and sure, just maybe in the scuffle she had been hit by someone defending themselves before being pulled away, but even my their own metric of what violence is acceptable, this was just standard protest shit, she "fucked around of found out" perhaps. But no, a lie is a weapon.

"A JEWISH GIRL WAS JUMPED UPON BY FIVE KEFFIYAH WEARING TERRORISTS AND BEATEN UNCONSCIOUS"

The further way from the source, the wilder the story goes. That night, the keen and aggressive police presence fades away, a calm night then?

No. Some 200 men launch a brutal and sustained attack, attacking an older woman, gang stomping individuals and slamming 2x4 over peoples heads as they crawl on the ground. For four hours the camp had to defend itself.

For two of those hours the police stood on the far side of the aggressors doing nothing.

Not so often they just give up pretense and we so blatantly see the cops and the nationalists go hand in hand but there you have it.

Of course the people who are so horrified by the violence of a bit of shoving, some smashed windows, or encampments existing at all due to the military history of the word (yeah really), don't bat two eyelids are this open and brazen violence, in fact they celebrate it.

The people who moan "outside agitator!" and "paid for protestor" oblivious and apathetic to the hundreds of grown men, organised, and armed for violence who all too suspiciously knew the right time to rally up and attack and who for some mysterious reasons got a free pass for hours and saw no arrests. They pretend to ask questions, but then so selectively.

The hypocrisy is rife.

The third Salvo is this barrage of lies and obfuscating nonsense, to confuse the issue and make it about something else. Make it so the casual observer can't tell who is doing what and make it too much effort to parse. Confuse matters internally and fragment solidarity.

These same people who spend hours asking "WHO IS FUNDING THE STUDENTS" while posting pictures of bulk bought tents and crates of water, don't ask about the $80k and rising fund for the "counter protest at UCLA" or the some $400k raised for the UNC frat boy who "defended their flag"... you know, the one organised on behalf of Susan Ralston, Bush's Special Assistant. The same frat who elsewhere face investigation of the mass distribution of date rape drugs and a hazing ritual they call "race war".

Fraternal orders have seen a lot of use through this mind, straight up working with police to clear encampments, engaging in psychological warfare across the night to give "no peace", and some days after the raid they came in force at several universities and colleges at the same time, carrying dozens of Stars and Stripes and spend the day barraging camps. Entirely without external organising and not orchestrated I'm sure.

The idea here is to position the Palestinian solidarity and anti-genocide position with a broad Anti-Americanism. This is a trap really, to associate the camps with a much more ingrained concept in American society.... "They oppose the slaughter of children", changes to "They oppose my flag and country", it seeks to divide protestors and views at home alike. The purpose to this is try and drive wedges on capitalism, on two state solutions, on Ukraine, on Biden, and so on and so forth, hoping to break the focus, hoping to split the movement and build as many "they don't represent you" moments for the viewer at home as possible.

This is why folk like Greta Thunberg refuse to give a position on Nuclear power. Fuck their attempts to build wedges.

Whatever the anarchist take, truth of the matter is you can hate children being murder en-masse and your educational institution profiting from this while also, you know, being a patriot or thinking communism isn't for you. The protests are diverse in nature and wedge-politics like this are a weapon to divide movement into factionalism and weaken popular support.

In this case, no such defence was needed, there is a litany of footage that undermines the nationalists... "You know they are homophobes in Gaza don't you, you fucking faggot", A Frat boy makes Monkey noises at a black student, In Chicago a gaggle of douche bags with flags high march under "Born in the USA", showing the depth of their media literacy. Top Brass with the NYPD Military make arses of themselves on TV claiming the bike locks they sell on campus and Oxford Press books on Terrorism show a clear and sinister intent and purpose.

Still the narrative comes the morning after with news feeds of "violent protests" and photos of detritus strew across lawns. They give the police man and administrators plenty of news time, the occupiers, supporting professors and wider community none. They neglect to mention who brought the violence and why. You see, A lie is a weapon.
As I finish typing this section, the fourth Salvo drops, the declaration from authority.

Republican Senator Tom Cotton (Receiver of $237,077 from pro-Israel lobbyists) gives a cypto-fascist speech from behind the official seals of his office about "Little Gazas" and the denouncement of "liberal administrators" (That would be the one's not utilising police violence on their student body), straight up declaring these pockets of community standing up against the profiteering from

an ongoing slaughter as “disgusting cesspools of anti-semitic hate full of terrorist sympathisers, fanatics and freaks”. It’s absolutely removed from reality and the legislative step towards even more violent oppression.

The people are hold told to shut up and stop thinking, the people in the know who own you have told you these are terrorists and will be dealt with shortly. We didn’t spend all those years building in the vernacular we can use to make you disengage with any cause only for you to start questioning it now. Support the camps and you’re a terrorist too.

The usual media pundits and fascist mouth pieces are eating all this up and bemoaning “Hamas youth” and “pro-terrorist” . They want you either hiding away, fearful of association or if you’re the side of life and liberty to spend your time addressing these lies rather than echoing the cause which saw the tents hit the crowd.

There is an ongoing, brutal ethnic cleansing going on. A famine has been manifested with popular support, many western educational institutions are not only party to this but profiteer from it.

As I write some 2000 are in lock up, dozen in hospitals.

These bastions of resistance are reflected by camps Australia, Argentina, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, India, Italy, Spain, Tunisia and elsewhere. Here in the UK, come Mayday the camps Housing Rebellion camp in London and BLM action in Cardiff would be joined in occupation by student bodies and Plastinian solidarity groups in a dozen places, Bristol, London, Manchester, Newcastle. Swansea, Sheffield, Warwick and no doubt several more.

As an existential threat to their profit margins, university chairs and boards keenly called the police in, who have taken to the task with relish. These kids, out there, occupying camps and buildings are being declared enemies of the state. They’ve tasted the violence of the police and unchecked nationalists and they are still there.

They are angry and anger is a gift.
Solidarity with them, Stay frosty. Stay free. ■

IF YOU WERE A HOSTAGE AND SOMEONE SAID THEY COULD RESCUE YOU, BUT THEY’D HAVE TO INJURE 700 PEOPLE AND KILL 274, INCLUDING 64 CHILDREN, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY?

THEORY AND ANALYSIS

OJORE LUTALO: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mutt
medium.com/@muttworks
May 2024

Ojore was born in New Jersey in 1946 into a family with three brothers and six sisters, he grew weary of his underclass lifestyle and got kneck deep into radical black nationalist politics. While never becoming an official member of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) he still participated in revolutionary expropriation activities.

His first arrest for this was in 1975 alongside BLA member Kojo Bomani Sababu after following a high speed chase after being profiled by the police for being 'suspicious' inside of a car in New Brunswick.

A month later following a bank robbery in New Jersey alongside a BLA member which ended in a firefight with the police he was arrested and later fled. He was later caught once more in New York by the FBI after being set up and captured by an Ex Panther snitch called "Lenny Baker".

In 1977 He was sentenced to 14 years for the armed robbery and shoot out. Inside prison, the state tried its hardest to persecute Ojore because of his status as an enemy of the American settler colonial project. Despite this, inside prison he continued to do whatever he could to gain knowledge and abilities to fight the state. In his conversations with Kuwasi Balagoon and contemplating his frustrations with Marxism he became an anarchist.

In 1976 while in prison, his comrade Andaliwa Clark attempted to escape from New Jersey's infamous Trenton State Prison. Clark shot two security guards in the Management Control Unit (M.C.U.) and was then killed while fleeing.

10 years later in February 1986, Ojore was taken out of the general prison population, and placed in the Maximum Control Unit (MCU) in New Jersey State Prison. There was no provocation that lead to this, in fact Lutalo had gone without any infraction since Clark's attempted escape.

The MCU is a sensory deprivation unit, about the size of an average bathroom. Ojore had to remain in this cage for 46 hours out of every 48. There are virtually no privileges for inmates of the MCU – limited telephone use, controlled visitation and censored mail. Any movement outside the cage is conducted in shackles, accompanied by body searches and watched by guards carrying clubs they call "nigger beaters".

The MCU is reserved for political prisoners and prisoners of the class war, e.g. revolutionaries, prisoner unionists, jailhouse lawyers, and especially New Afrikan prisoners of war, like Ojore Lutalo.

The MCU is designed, quite simply, to drive people mad – try to imagine that total isolation, and understand why the government feels it needs to isolate people like Ojore not only from society, but from the rest of the prison population, too. Basically, it is his ideas they see as dangerous – they do not wish other prisoners to be politicised by contact with him.

While in prison, Lutalo has faced other forms of harassment, including false charges waged against him to keep him from getting paroled.

Right before Lutalo's parole hearing on June 16th, 2005 he was charged and found guilty of associating with outside security threat groups and planning attacks on staff. This got him a year in Ad-Seg and a year of good time lost.

Despite this, Ojore continued to educate himself and conducted several interviews on various topics such as racial diversity in the environmentalism movement, on reparations and the commitment required to do prisoner support work.

He also created and used collage art to express himself and draw attention to the conditions he was being held under.

This was shared around by the Anarchist Black Cross, the only political organisation to support him on the inside, along with Bonnie Kerness, another long term supporter who used his artwork at her talks on prison.

In 2005 Lutalo was interviewed for a film entitled In My Own Words where he spoke on everything from his own political beliefs to life in MCU to the difficulty of being a vegetarian prisoner. On August 1st, 2005, Ojore received 3 charges: perpetrating a fraud, operating a business without approval, and soliciting funds and non-cash contributions for taking part in the film. This despite the filmmakers indeed getting approval and at the time of the charges only three videotapes having been sold (with none of the funds going to Lutalo). The third allegation that he solicited funds was also in connection to the money he was receiving for stamps from the Anarchist Subsistence Fund, a decision made entirely by Anarchist Black Cross Federation chapters, not Lutalo.

Ojore Lutalo was released from prison on August 26, 2009 after serving 28 years. He went ahead and carried on propagandising for anarchism and revolution. After giving a talk at the Anarchist Bookfair in LA he was accused of talking on the phone planning to blow up the train he was travelling back home on. He was arrested for this but beat the case due to a lack of evidence.

Despite this, he's carried on his activism and art to this day.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE ONUS OF DOING PRISONER SUPPORT WORK

New Afrikan Anarchist POW, Ojore N. Lutalo

Any movement that does not support its political internees is a sham movement!

(A) Commitment-Protracted: Undertaking the responsibilities of prisoner support work necessitates commitment of a protracted nature. So anybody out there in a minimum custody (the extended communities at large) should contemplate their willingness and readiness of their resolve to commit themselves to this kind of protracted work because history can attest to the numerous numbers of sisters and brothers who became involved only to "drop out" after becoming bored with the work, or the novelty of the work abated, and they moved on to something else like so many other Anarchists have done! We need to think in terms of five, ten, fifteen and twenty-year commitments. Anarchists are known for their short attention spans if a project necessitates structure!

> *"It's hard to figure how prisoners and "Militant Politics" don't appeal to people with a political bent on the outside. But that explains everything. One cannot be about Revolution - any type of Revolution - without dealing with prisoners and the prospect of going to prison yourself"*
>
> -Words of The Late New Afrikan Anarchist, Kuwasi Balagoon

(B) Status of Prisoner(s): Before people commit themselves to prisoner-support work, they should consider the status of the prisoner who might be a social prisoner who is totally apolitical and has no interest in becoming political, or social prisoners who became politicised during the course of their captivity and have histories of reverting back to theri old ways of life once they are released from prison. Lastly, you have the prisoners who were politically active (above and underground) before their capture and subsequent internment.

Distinguishing the differences between the above status is important because Anarchist Political Prisoner "Robert Thaxton" recently wrote me a letter saying;

> *"when i had a relatively stable life in Austin, Texas, I started to do Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) work there (this was about a year…prior to the stat of the Anarchist Black Cross Federation) and some prisoners sent me appeals to find them legal help, some demanded money - lots of it, every month, or they wouldn't consider writing or otherwise being involved with projects I was trying to initiate or others were only interesting in having me hook them with nude pictures of woman companeras."*

Being a POW and knowing other Political Prisoners of War, I can say that I'm certain that such requests as they had ben asked of Robert Thaxton never came from a Prisoner(s) who came into the concentration camp system as a Political Prisoner of a Prisoner of War. I can't say the same thing for social prisoners (not all social prisoners) because I known some apolitical social prisoners as well as some politicised social prisoners who are only interested in meeting women and exploiting (the) concerned and vulnerable out there in the communities at-large, for money and material things. I also know some people at there in minimum custoned who only show an interest in prisoners (apolitical as well as political) when they need the prisoners input to enhance their political careers, or some Left-Wing or Right-Wing "project" that they are working on.

> *"Being in captivity is a terrible adversity, but adversities are tests of a person's loyalty!"*
> - Ojore N. Lutalo

(C) Credibility: In struggle, all that we have is our work. So it's essential that Sisters and Brothers who become involved in the area of Prisoner Support honour their word at all the times with prisoners, so that their credibility is never called into question by a prisoner or other outside sisters or brothers doing prisoner-support work.

From the inception of any involvement on the behalf of prisoners, outside Sisters and Brothers should assess their "resources," themselves included, and honour all commitments that they make to prisoners. If for some reason they are not able to honour a prior commitment, let the prisoner know whey by writing or visiting! If a Sister or Brother commits themselves to a writing correspondence relationship (which at times can be or become overwhelming), they should be prepared to answer all letters in a timely fashion. If for some reason they are not able to respond to a letter upon receipt, they should forward the prisoner(s) in question a postcard or a note, making them aware that their letter was received, and that the letter will be responded to in depth (if necessary) at a later date due to other commitments or immediate pressing problem(s) at hand!

From the inception of any involvement on behalf of prisoners, outside sisters and brothers should draw up an agenda of the things that they can and cannot do for a prisoner(s), and make the prisoner(s) aware of this when they establish contact with the prisoner. If the outside Sister or Brother is not interested in a personal relationship with the prisoner(s), she or he should make the prisoner aware of this without being shy or ambiguous. If a a personal relationship does develop between people in maximum and minimum custody, so be it, because such relationships can be rewarding to both parties involved if they are honest with each other and don't live in an illusion.

SOME THOUGHTS ON REPARATIONS [2003]

New Afrikan Anarchist and POW, Ojore N. Lutalo

To oppress a race physically, culturally and economically and then label its reactions to the fascist aggressions being bestowed "upon" it as being pathological; is not only morally wrong, it is criminal and a fraud; so in our just struggles for reparations, we as a victimised people must be willing to employ all methods of struggle as advocated by the late Malcom X who urged struggle by any means necessary as we forge forward with our just struggle and remember the following words of the late Fredierick Douglass:

> *"Where justice is denied, where poverty is enforced, where ignorance prevails, and where any one class is made to feel that society is in an organised conspiracy to oppress, rob and degrate, then neither persons nor property will be safe"*

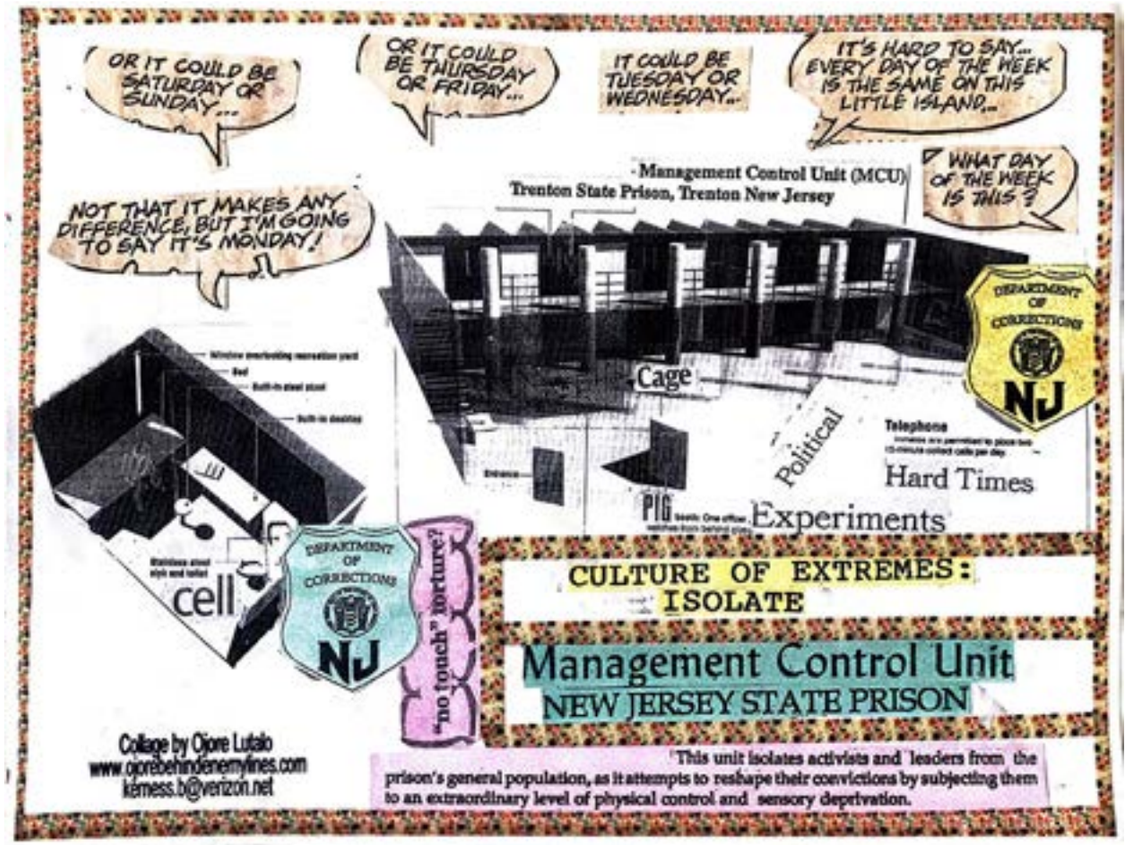
In our struggles for reparations sisters and brothers, one just demand must be for land because without land to grow food on, and build public housing to

sustain ourselves, we will end up like beggars waiting on crumbs from the efforts of others like our sisters and brothers in the tiny cotton town of Cruger, Mississippi in the delta black-belt who have "Power Over Nothing" in spite of the fact, that they hold office, make laws, but are still "crippled" by poverty because they do not own the town's cotton gin mill that blacks depend on for jobs, and the whites also own all the land on which any new housing or other new businesses could be built!

In our struggles for reparations sisters and brothers, "must as a dispossessed people" take heed to the following words of the late Booker T. Washington who said, All of our freedoms stem from economic independence! We must understand that! Our organisations must understand the law of economics: controlling your resources will control your world! When the controller of your "economics" names the tune, the economically dependent must dance.

There is no question in my mind that enslaved Afrikans were "crucial" to the rapid development of the Amerikas as we know them today, laying the foundation for its mind boggling riches and prominence in the world's economy today.

In our struggles for reparations sisters and brothers, we "must in our struggles for reparations make land-demands or (forever) remain dispossessed" and dependent upon a racist and fascist government who has proven itself as benign proficient at administering death and misery upon those people that they have enslaved (and) are depended upon for its economic and military survival. We are economic slaves, and we must dare to struggle in order to liberate ourselves from our draconian plight, or forever remain beggars as we are viewed now! ■


OR IT COULD BE SATURDAY OR SUNDAY...
OR IT COULD BE THURSDAY OR FRIDAY...
IT COULD BE TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY...
IT'S HARD TO SAY... EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK IS THE SAME ON THIS LITTLE ISLAND...
NOT THAT IT MAKES ANY DIFFERENCE, BUT I'M GOING TO SAY IT'S MONDAY!
WHAT DAY OF THE WEEK IS THIS?
Management Control Unit (MCU)
Trenton State Prison, Trenton New Jersey
Cage
Political
Hard Times
Experiments
PIG
Telephone
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS
NJ
cell
"no touch" torture?
CULTURE OF EXTREMES:
ISOLATE
Management Control Unit
NEW JERSEY STATE PRISON
This unit isolates activists and leaders from the prison's general population, as it attempts to reshape their convictions by subjecting them to an extraordinary level of physical control and sensory deprivation.
Collage by Ojore Lutalo
www.ojorebehindenemylines.com
kimess.b@verizon.net

An american anarchist periodical that analyzes a wide variety of topics from anti-capitalist, anti-colonial, anti-authoritarian, and marginalized voices!

We'll discuss...

Artificial Intelligence

Property relations and alienation

Copyright and Public Domain

... And more!

Wanna submit your writing? Drop us a line at

BEYONDRESISTANCEMAG@AUTISTICI.ORG

BEYONDRESISTANCE.NOBLOGS.ORG

@BEYONDRESISTANCE@MASTODON.SOCIAL

THE WRITINGS OF ALI KHALID ABDULLAH

"We have no time to think that self-liberation is some futuristic event that will come to pass after some marvelous revolutionary savior come. That will not happen. Our individual battle for liberation and autonomy is political, and we must act in a way that our very social interaction displays this fact. For how we conduct ourselves in the here and now will determine what our tomorrow will bring to us."
- Ali Khalid Abdullah "Black Liberation and Anarchism" 2002

Ali Khalid Abdullah was a black muslim anarchist from the USA, he was imprisoned for taking 'people's justice' on a drug dealer. Inside prison, despite repression from the authorities, he founded the Political Prisoners Of War Coalition (P.P.W.C) a non-sectarian network for prisoners to support each other against attacks by the prison system which was run on the principles of free association and mutual aid. He also edited the prisoner bulletin *"In the trenches"* which gave a voice to incarcerated people. He wrote several articles on anarchism and islam, the prison movement and much more. Ali went up for parole in 1996 and was finally released in 2008. Spending over 18 years in prison. Outside of prison he continued to agitate for anarchism and revolution giving several talks in the following years in which he spoke about his experiences.

Ali died a few years ago, but the appreciation of black anarchism grows nonetheless. and to help preserve his memory we are re-publishing his writings as we find them, if you have any zines or articles he wrote Please contact Organise. **Remember his story.**

VIOLENCE [2003]

Bart De Geeter of Ghent (Belgium) Anarchist Black Cross interviewing Ali Khalid. Bart De Geeter in Oct 2004, alongside several Spanish anarchists engaged in a shootout with police after passing through a border check in Aachen, Germany. He was sentenced to three years in prison while the other two anarchists, Jose Fernandez Delgado and Gabriel Pombo da Silva, received sentences ranging from 13 to 14 years in prison. A passenger in the car and sister of one of the anarchists received probation.

Ali: First off, thank you for this opportunity to participate in this dialogue with you and your readers. I find that, unfortunately, violence is a means , which will obtain the oppressors' ear. Because what I have seen all my life and what is happening today with more and more oppressive and repressive laws and police brutality taking place globalls, waving peace signs and having rallies and demonstrations isn't making a difference. If anything, we are being ignored and even attacked (violently) by the police for peaceful protests. So I believe that the people have a right and a duty to defend themselves and to strike back when attacked. I also believe that we live in a world where your passiveness will only get you beaten or killed, so violence becomes a necessary means to an end. What is the end? The end result is to have peace. Some say peace through violence is never attainable, but I would say this, as long as those in power are being violent against the people the people MUST respond with strategic action.

Bart: Is your stance purely pacifist or is violence in some way necessary?

Ali: As I've stated, violence is necessary, but only when in defence of one's life. Again, when one is attacked and abused then they have a right to become violent. If I see someone ready to do physical harm to another and that person has done nothing, then I will stop the one who is trying to do harm. If that means I must be violence to do this then I will be violent. As for being passive… passivity has never brought anything but it has invited someone else to be aggressive, abusive and dominating against you/us. It would sure be a nice thing to see a world where there is no violence, but we do not live in such a world. We live, unfortunately where we have women being raped, boys being raped, and children sold into prostitution for porno pleasure. We have leaders of governments and Heads of States committing mass murder in the name of some ideology which boils down to greed, control of resources in a particular country, racism, homophobia, religious doctrines, etc.

My stance is this… I want peace. I want harmony, but I am not going to allow [anyone] to hurt me or those around me who are innocent.

Bart: What about violence breeds violence?

Ali: This is an old saying and it is usually something that the agents for those in corrupted power have one of their lackeys tell people hoping that they (the people) will buy into it. Violence doesn't breed violence. Further it depends on who is committing violence and whether that violence is offensive or defensive. If you are offensively using violence then the only thing that will come out of the violence [committed against the people] is more violence [against the perpetrator] in defence. If you were violent and I did not do anything to stop you, then I am asking to be wiped off the earth because someone else doesn't want me to live. Violence isn't the cause for violence. Greed is. Homophobia is. Class and other divisions to deny human beings the right and the dignity to have an equal share of the world's wealth and resources are the real things that produce violence.

Bart: Now, with the global demonstrations there is a lot of discussion about it. Like about smashing McDonalds during protests. Does that make any sense?

Ali: During a protest many people find various forms to express their anger and disappointment with being treated as less than human or for being abused and oppressed and repressed by the system, a boss on a job, or something. They react by destroying something they feel is a representation of that which has caused them hardship. Smashing a McDonalds has become the symbol of young people's anger because McDonalds has managed to find itself in many countries making its multi-millions and billions of dollars and not giving anything back to the millions of people who have made it as it is, RICH! But, I find that smashing McDonalds is not doing anything of importance but making McDonalds even more money. When you smash its window or something, the company is being paid for that window to be replaced and it is also getting something for the damage, so the company has made a profit from the brick thrown through its window. Furthermore, smashing a window isn't going to have a lasting or important effect on McDonalds' operations. Why take the chance of being shot and killed to smash a window that won't make any policy changes? If you are going to do something that could land you in prison or dead, then at least make what you do WORTH IT. Make what you do COUNT for something very important.

When we smash McDonalds window and the news shows this, all they show is that of a band of people aimlessly throwing a rock or brick through a window. It doesn't make any form of statement and the public (who see this on TV) see this as reckless action, not an action based on real substance. They do not see this as a revolutionary act to stop capitalist greed and exploitation and imperialism. So me personally, I think it is a waste of time that we could be using to do some other real action that can get results, or at least, capture the world's attention. Then you can make your issues known because now you have a world listening. No one listens or even cares about a McDonalds window being smashed.

I believe that young people especially need to come together and do some very serious study and dialogue with one another globally. I believe that the youth are ones who will make the difference in this struggle for liberation, equality and justice. So I think that it is imperative that the young people today really begin to look at the issues and develop ideas and ways in which to see those ideas become realities. There should be workshops going on to help educate others and to share with others the need for strategic planning, if you know

what I mean? Tactics ought to be learned, and specific training ought to be developed in the case it is needed. It will be if you are attacking the oppressors of the world.

There should be no time or room for getting high on drugs, because this doesn't allow you to be in focus or your right state of mind. The same with drinking and getting drunk, This is not revolutionary and it only plays into the hands of those who want to keep us high and unable to function so that they (the powers that be) can easily move in on us and do as they please. We must be conscious of this and realise that the war we fight is one on all fronts. This includes trying to wear or buy the latest fashions of clothes and other things that they (the powers that be) throw up to cause mass distractions. We must rise up and recognize that this is not a game. Being serious about political change, real social change, is not a game and the powers that be are ot playing any games. They are serious. Dead serious and will terminate any one of us if we aren't really prepared to fight.

ANARCHISTS AND THE PRISON ISSUE [2000]

Many, many people are incarcerated, especially here in Amerikkka. There are close to or over two million people in prison, jails or juvenile facilities. Disproportionately, the vast majority of these people are people of colour, mainly Black and Latino. There are many professed Anarchist! anti-authoritarians who aren't reaching inside these prisons to either work with us known anarchists or to establish ties with politically active/conscious prisoners so they can be utilised in the struggle. This is sad. A sad statement. yet one which is true and must be discussed openly if we are to change our present day thinking. There are Anarchist prisoners scattered all over the world who aren't getting the real support they need. This says much about where we are headed as Anarchist anti-authoritarians. In Spain, there are many Anarchists languishing in prisons under totally inhumane conditions. These brave and dedicated prisoners are staging hunger strikes and open rebellious protests hoping to draw the attention of Anarchists globally. Are you listening? In Germany, we have an anarchist comrade, Thomas Meyer Falk, who is in total isolation. Living in a cold, damp prison cell. He needs help. Is the Global Anarchist Community listening?

In Italy, Anarchists are repressed and arrested for all manner of trumped up charges . .. Is the Global Anarchist Community listening? In Mexico, Anarchist students are protesting the government's attempt to privatize education - are you listening? In Poland, the Czech Republic, Austria… - Anarchists are subject to brutality, murder, beatings, incarcerations ... Are you listening to those of us who languish in prisons and jails still believing in the spirit of Anarchy yet getting little to no support? It is vital that the Anarchist Collective World Wide begins to make the words anarchy and anti-authority mean what they say by action! But again I say, this movement cannot and will not be totally effective until the overall Anarchist Collective includes, endorses and has more people of color deeply involved. Anarchists must reach out. to the people needing the most help and work diligently with them.

FACING THE CAPITALIST BOURGEOISIE WITHOUT FEAR [2000]

All over the world we find laws being implemented to control the masses. To have them afraid to stand up and demand their rights; to be sovereign; to be critical; to stand boldly and announce the wrongs being committed by government officials who are lackeys for big business = kapitalist = money changers.

With this progressive fear by the capitalist bourgeois come various forms of aggression, repression, censorship and murder. It also entails the massive rate of incarcerations, prisons, and in Amerikkka, the death penalty, as well as the blatant erosion of laws where even the appearance of justice is not trashed in favor of absolute (dictatorship) abuse.

We have witnessed the extremes of the kapitalist bourgeois in Seattle during the WTO demonstrations, and during the demonstrations in Washington, D.C. regarding the abuses of the IMP and WB. We've seen it most recently in Detroit, Michigan and Canada during the Organization of American States (OAS) and various Reclaim the Streets (RTS) actions around the world, and during Mayday events. More and more the people's voice the people's right to protest-is being met with oppressive resistance which includes beatings, shootings, trumped-up charges (where they are fined or jailed, or both). All of this in order to frighten us and for us to believe that the bourg~ois' property is sacrosanct. To have us "knowing our place" and not cross the artificial barrier that's been erected based on class, race and gender. .

What this all means is that the kapitalist bourgeois are afraid of the people. Afraid of the masses because "they" (the kapitalist bourgeois) are the minority. Therefore, there is a need to instil terror and fear in the masses to keep us afraid of actualizing our power and feeling as though we have no power. Keeping us in fear is the basis of all political discourse under kapitalism. To scare us into "knowing our place" and accept what crumbs we are given from the bourgeois' plate, and the conditions in which they dictate to us in how' we should live our lives this is why police (all over the world) are more aggressive today; This is why the right to protest and challenge is met with, bullets; batons, beatings, incarcerations, and' an assortment of attacks. Exploitation of the many by the few!

We must face the challenges placed before us by the kapitalist bourgeois without fear or intimidation. We must not bow down when faced with anything if we are to make a difference if we are to succeed. Being afraid inhibits us from being effective and allows the kapitalist bourgeois to march their agents (police and other enforcers of property) against us in arrogance. Our fear gives them victory. Our hesitation gives them an advantage and that advantage only knows one thing .. . oppress! Whenever we are attacked, beaten, brutalized, we have a right and a duty to give it back but with relentless extremes. Our actions (to survive) must go beyond the brick and the bottle throwing. Beyond the window smashing because this isn't effective nor does it pose a threat to the established bourgeois who is insured and will have these minor problems, not only fixed, but also receive something as a result of this incident. No, we must be more extreme.

Extreme Action.'.. Extreme Relentless Direct Action must be the new order for us to rely on or the domination we're all facing and living under will grow even worse. We must be the example for check n' balance. Already we see governments around the world taking guns from the people, or making it so difficult to obtain that many don't try to own one. This tactic is being enforced, leaving the masses defenseless and unable to fend off any brutal attacks by the agents of the kapitalist bourgeois. A defense-less people are a people subject to unchecked aggression, oppression, repression, brutality and other undesired treatment. If we do not face the kapitalist bourgeois now and remain firm in our community and minimize our differences, soon it will be too late to develop any resistance.

We will simply become human robots.

ANARCHISTS AND BLACK STRUGGLE: ANARCHISTS MUST KNOW THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE BLACK STRUGGLE

In a recent article I wrote entitled "Why Aren't More People of Color in the Anarchist Movement?" I pointed out the need for anarchists (world-wide) to begin getting involved, working with, and supporting the causes of Blacks, Latinos, First Nations' people (aka Native Americans) so that the overall anarchist community will reflect its true ideals and philosophy in principles which calls for a political philosophy that embraces democracy and freedom, and seeks to destroy all forms of coercion and oppression. For a philosophy based on a collective whereby people can freely associate with equal power to determine their future, it is vital that there be a clear understanding of the Black struggles of yesterday and today. Murray Bookchin, in The Modern Crisis, p79, stated ".. the making of the human being.. is a collective process, a process in which both community and the individual participate." If we understand this, and if we are sincere about the philosophies of anarchy, then we must understand why it is imperative to, not only understand the TRUE historical facts as they relate to Blacks and other peoples of colour, but also immerse ourselves into the continuing struggle they (we) face today.

The anarchist community need to know about the black women who stood up and voiced their anger against the fierce white oppression and who paved the way for the modern women's liberation movement that are too often buried within the pages of HIStory. Take the question of the slave revolts leading to the birth of Abolitionism, which created a new chapter in American character. The

very nature of anarchism is the absolute rejection of oppression and repression. The slaves in Amerika were FORCED to take names given, branded upon them by white slave owners. Therefore the simple act of choosing a name outside the slave owners' enforcement was, not only a courageous act, but also an act right out of the pages of anarchism. It may sound rather simple but let us examine this point: a Black woman (Sojourner Truth) decided she no longer wished to be branded by slave owners by carrying the name given to her. THAT is the first step of anarchist rebellion and the rejection of patriarchy, as she also rejected the name of her husband, which patriarchal society dictated a woman must take after marriage in her time. She said she "talked with God," told him she refused to bear a slave name, and asked what she should do? "He" answered her as follows: Sojourn the whole world over and tell everyone the truth about American democracy, that it doesn't exist for blacks. That is how she decided to call herself "Sojourner Truth". This historical act falls right in line with anarchist views. To quote Proudhon, "All associated and all free." Or, as Luigi Galleani puts it, anarchism is "the autonomy of the individual within the freedom of association."

In 1831 when the slave Nat Turner led a slave revolt in the State of Virginia, he acted from the very same principles that anarchy proclaims, namely; if liberty is essential for the fullest development of the individual, then equality is essential for liberty to exist. There can be no real freedom in a class-oriented hierarchical society laden with profound inequalities of power, wealth and privilege. But how many anarchists have ever viewed the black slave revolts as anarchy in nature and in motion?

Also, in the same year as Nat Turner's Slave revolt (1831), Maria Stewart spoke out in public - the first American-born woman, white or black, to speak publicly. Here is what she said: "O ye daughters of Afrika, awake! Awake! Arise! No longer sleep nor slumber but distinguish yourselves. Show forth to the world that ye are endowed with noble and exalted faculties... How long shall the fair daughters of Afrika be compelled to bury their minds and talents beneath a load of iron pots and kettles?... How long shall a mean set of men flatter us with their smiles and enrich themselves with our hard earnings, their wives' fingers sparkling with rings and they themselves laughing at our folly?" Again, this shows a strong anarchist line being held, being proclaimed for "anarchy" means "without rulers" or "without (hierarchical) authority." Maria Stewart was on point because anarchists are anti-authoritarians, believing that no human being should dominate another. Yet how many anarchists have ever known of this black woman's speech or her name? Or that of Sojourner Truth? This is what I mean when I said it is imperative that collectively, the anarchist community involve themselves, learn, know and embrace the struggles of people of colour so that the overall anarchist community isn't, in appearance, a majority white radical movement but a multi-cultural movement and well-versed so that anarchist literature speaks to all people.

Most, if not all, anarchist literature that I've read had figures representing ONLY white people, including cartoons. It strikes me as odd that this would be so, because the message displays a negation of non-whites, which, while it may not be the intention, send a message of exclusion. The figure or cartoon of a black-masked white-faced person doesn't really say to non-whites "we include you". Therefore, deep within the premise of anarchism exists an element of race exclusion. Of ethnic exclusion, though there may be rationalisations to the contrary. Tom Patterson, wrote in "Inventing Western Civilisation" (1997): "The word civilisation evokes powerful images and understandings." How much more of a powerful image can there be when we only project the figures, pictures and cartoons presenting anarchy as white, i.e. with features clearly definable as white? I have made this same claim to my Wobbly comrades in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) asking that they change the old image of a white man in overalls with his big arms folded across his chest because it reflects a symbol of white male superiority and thus alienates blacks and other peoples of colour and women. Within the anarchist collective or within the IWW, there are no images of Blackness, only of whiteness, which if truly examined, goes against the very principles anarchism proclaims. Social equality and individual liberty are inseparable. Without the collective self-management of decisions that affect a group (equality) to complement the individual self-management of decisions that affect the individual (liberty), a free society is impossible. (Principles of Anarchism, p8).

The recent events in Seattle's protest of the WTO saw very few black people in mass protest but it is black people the world over who suffer most from Capital's disenfranchisement and unfair labour practices. Anarchists must address this issue and ask "why? Anarchists must reach into the bowels of the black communities to find out what caused their lack of interest in the march and protest of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in Washington DC and then ponder over whether or not the black community was truly contacted and/or invited to give real input into the demonstrations and have their issues and grievances truly heard, represented and fought for. We cannot be parading around in masks and signs pretending to be against the evils and inhumanity of Capitalism while at the same time negate, in our actions, those most affected by capitalism.

WHY AREN'T MORE PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT? [2000]

The Anarchist movement the world over is composed of more whites than people of color. The vast majority of Anarchist writings are written by and published by whites. Further, the overall Anarchist movement, though it claims to be inclusive of all people, has shown itself to be less than what it claims.
The Anarchist movement must begin to examine and re-examine itself if we are going to build a movement that truly represents all people - if we are sincere about fighting against and ending all manner of racism and classism and kapitalism, which fuel racism.

The Anarchist movement must extend itself to working with the New Afrikan (Black) communities in Amerikkka, the Afrikan communities in Afrika and everywhere where there are people of color, be it in the U.K., Central or South America, the Caribbean Islands, or other places. This must be a reality or the Anarchist movement can not and will not grow but will merely be a small reminder of what could have been.

In Amerikkka, Blacks, Latinos and First Nation (Native American) people are experiencing treatment worse than other groups of people; yet, the overall Anarchist movement isn't making its mark in these communities. Anarchists aren't developing ties with Black leaders, activists and politically charged groups, and the lack of action on the part of Anarchists shows a clear CONTRADICTION to the direct principles Anarchists believe in.

The Black, Latinos and First Nation communities aren't being invited to the Anarchist table, aren't given support by Anarchists as a whole. Why? Why are people claiming to be Anarchists or anti-authority and yet are living segregated lives away from people who are daily abused by the very governmental and societal systems that we claim to hate? There is a problem here.

The Anarchist Action Collective in Eugene, Oregon, in the United States, sent me a flyer entitled "Why Anarchy" and it had ten points explaining why there is a need for Anarchy. In this flyer the fact was reported that there is a "deepening crisis at every level," but there was no mention of the NEED for Anarchists to get readily involved in the struggle of people of color. It did not openly state how Anarchists must challenge the racist policies of Amerikkka's practice of racial profiling, which result in attacks on Black adults and youth by the police and judicial system. It did not state that Anarchists have a DUTY and RESPONSIBILITY to unite with people of color and live away from the secluded white areas where few Blacks and other people of color live. Anarchists must do this if we are going to struggle day by day with our people in need. Knowing the problems yet not doing anything collectively or individually in terms of ACTION is the same as not giving a damn. Why should Black people, Latino people, First Nation people or Asian people work with, support and fight with anarchists when they aren't being consulted, acknowledged (with real intent), aided or supported in their plights and valued for the knowledge they have?

As an Anarchist and as a New Afrikan, I find it downright embarrassing for the Anarchist movement not to be more completely involved with the conditions of my people and working hand in hand with my people.

I find it sickening to read how Anarchists believe this and believe that but yet haven't any substantial numbers of Black, Latino, First Nation or Asian people within their collectives. Why hasn't the Anarchist movement taken on a more progressive and active role to reach these people? These people of color? And why do we only read and parrot what Anarchists of old have said and done when

we have brilliant, articulate and committed Anarchists today who can be looked upon or read about and given the benefit of applying their ideas and methods?

If we don't break free from a basically white-concentrated group to a movement of all colors and representing all interests, then we will not be an effective movement and will choke on our past glorifications at the exclusion of others who could contribute, benefit and gain from the Anarchist movement here in Amerikkka and around the world.

There has to be a "re-thinking" in our approach, in our overall views. Where there is the most oppression is where anarchists should be. Where there is the most repression is where the Anarchists should set up bases and propagate - win minds to our cause, aims and objectives. We do not need to be posted up in hideaway holes in isolation from the most disenfranchised or the dispossessed. What has made Anarchism not appeal to many people of color is the very lack of action I am speaking of. Sure, there are some people of color who are Anarchist and believe in its principles, but we are relatively few. This must change!

It is often said and suggested that "Anarchists are increasingly more militant." However, when I look and see the racist police gunning down Black people - New Afrikan people - I have to ask "Where are the Anarchists in mass protest?" Yet, I always read or see on the news some mask-faced white person claiming to be an Anarchist throwing a damn brick or bottle through a Mcdonald's Restaurant. I can always read about a mass group of people claiming to be and-authoritarian and taking direct action to save some trees, wild life or some environmentally blighted area (which is important), but why aren't they this passionately active when it comes to the complete inhumane treatment of fellow human beings who just happen to be people of color? There is something majorly wrong with this picture. It is slanted. It is skewed and if I can see it, surely millions of other Black and Latino and First Nation people can see it.

REVOLUTIONARIES DO NOT SUPPORT STATE EXECUTIONS [1998]

In speaking with various prisoners about their political views, beliefs and theories, I have found that there are a lot of very ignorant prisoners when it comes to the issue of $tate executions, aka "death penalty" murders.

To my shock I've discovered (in the Michigan death kkkamps) there are so-called "revolutionaries" and "Black Nationalist" prisoners who are in support of $tate executions when it comes to the $tate executing white supremacists, skinheads or nazis. They've also expressed their acceptance of $tate executions for child molesters, rapists and for crimes against the elderly. However, what they have failed to realise is that $tate executions are unjust because the $tate is unjust. These prisoners have overlooked the fact that, on the percentage, more non-whites have been executed by the $tate than whites, and that today more non-whites are sitting on death row than whites. They also do not realise that innocent people have been murdered by the $tate. That police officers, detectives, prosecutors and judges have allowed fundamental rights of the accused to be trampled over, evidence to be covered up, and have allowed inadequate $tate-appointed attorneys to railroad people in prison(death kkkamps) by giving them substandard legal representation. And that, due to the Effective Death Penalty Act and similar legislation (such as the Anti-Terrorist Act) passed by $tate and federal government officials, these inadequacies will affect death row prisoners rights even up to the appeal process.

These people who support $tate executions do not think of how many prisoners on death row have been denied judicial due process and have suffered/are suffering such violations as suppression of the U.$. Constitution's first amendment rights; take for example Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Black man on death row in Philadelphia, who is accused of killing a white police officer and is articulating the wrongs done to him and hundreds/thousands of others by prisonkkkrats and the U.$ "injustice" system.

These so-called revolutionaries and Black Nationalists, who support $tate sponsored executions for certain groups of people who've committed the acts I mentioned earlier in this piece, have not studied history and noted in the U.$. those on death row are predominantly poor people, the uneducated, mis-educated, the chronically unemployed or those employed at substantial slave wage jobs often earning less than $7,000 a year. Or they are those who stand on the left side of the nation's ultra-conservative political sociological and religious spectrum. These are the ones who wind up on death row and are executed by the $tate.

They have obviously not taken into account that this system is corrupt and inadequate to properly administer JUSTICE - because justice in Amerikkkan kkkourts has many false faces. The judicial system is controlled not by the people, nor does it represent the people, but is controlled by big business, by the giant corporations who lobby politicians and spend multi-millions of dollars to support their lying campaigns for political re-election, professing to be "tough on crime" but in reality seeking private aggrandizement. They have become the dictators of political interests, seeing to it that heir own private and kapitalist interests are always represented. The politicians, in turn, run up huge taxpayer bills and advertise smear campaigns against other corrupt politicians, all of them trying to gain political position and power to do the nasty bidding of their corporate-kapitalist masters.

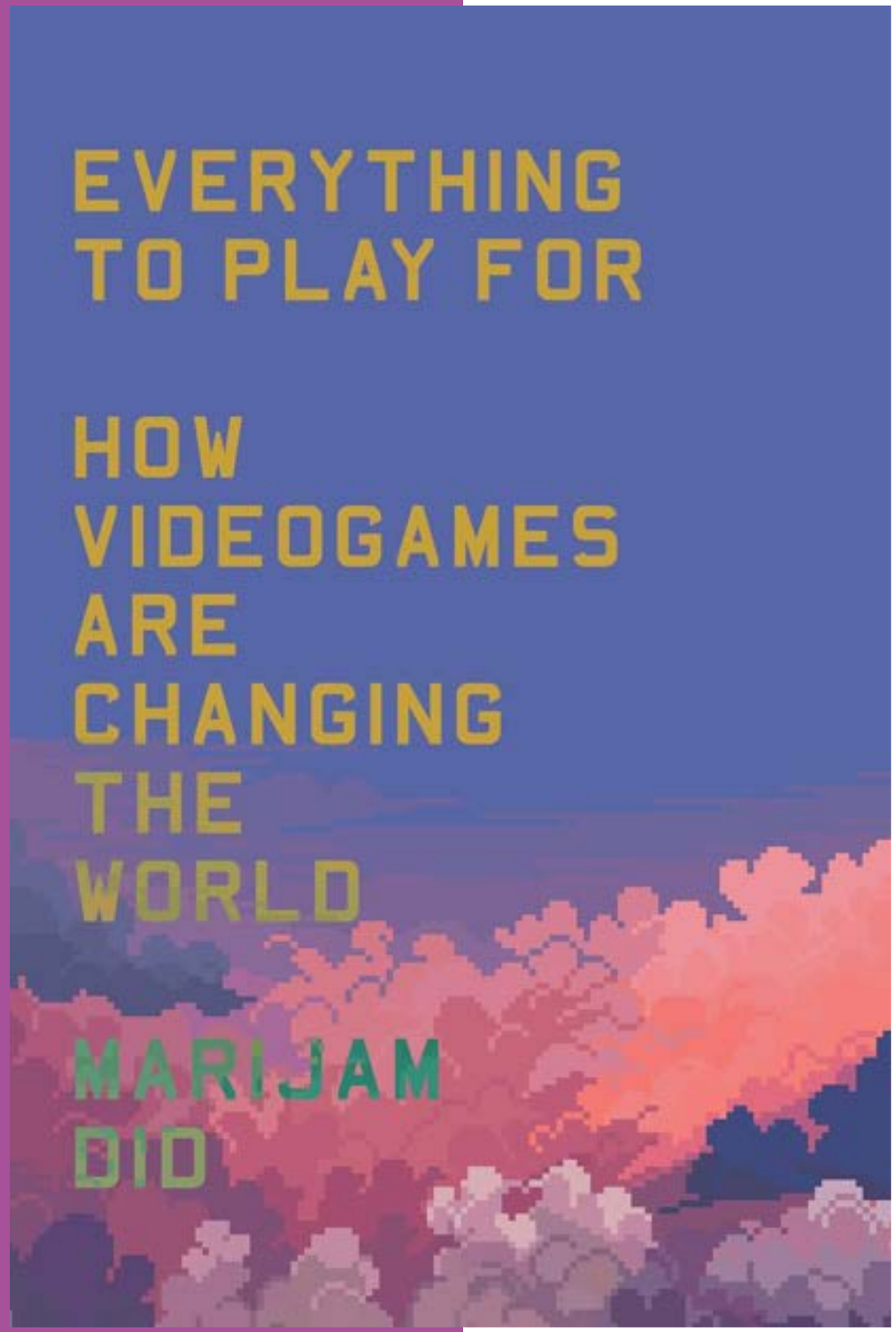
The media has successfully influenced not only the working class but also the prisoner class that languishes in prison death kkkamps as a result of the "lock 'em up" mentality that has this country in a frenzy for more cops, more $tate control over the lives of the people, more judges and more prison death kkkamps. There is nothing, absolutely nothing, coming form corporate-kapitalist control but suffering, corruption, lies and cover-ups, excessive spending, war plans for Third World nations and more zeal for power and dominance.

With this understanding, how can we justly support the $tate's claim of administering justice, especially when it takes the lives of falsely accused citizens? We can't, when we see that law enforcers (police, detectives and prosecutors) and the kkkourts themselves are negligent of the laws that are supposed to govern this society.

I am appalled that any person could or would dare support $tate executions regardless of whom the $tate has seen fit to murder. And it is even more shocking when Black prisoners and non-prisoners can stand up in support of a system full of racism, homophobia and the imbalance of justice. If we are going to talk about the administering of justice, then we must change the system all together and not reform bits and pieces of the system. The system can not be so simply reformed. We must have the existing order destroyed and then rebuilt by The People and let there be PEOPLE'S JUSTICE! No government or political leaders should make determinations of who lives or dies for the simple fact that government and political leaders do not have the interests of the people at heart. Not to mention the fact that the government and politicians are engaged in widespread global murders.

People, and especially those who have been and are victimised by the $tate, should get out of the thought/habit of believing any form of $tate murder is justifiable, even if it is carried out against a particular person for committing what might appear to be a justifiable act. The mind-set should be that WE THE PEOPLE must administer justice, supervising and consenting to our own laws and rules. Any person who claims to be for revolution or autonomy for a particular group and who then turns around and claims support for any form of $tate execution/murder, is not a revolutionary. ■

ARTS AND CULTURE



BITS AND BYTES: A REVIEW OF "EVERYTHING TO PLAY FOR"

Marijam Didžgalvytė has a book coming out in Autumn called Everything to Play For, How Videogames are Changing the World (EPF). I was one of the lucky few to be given an advance copy. My deadline for getting my notes into shape was extremely tight but I found the book an engaging read, EPF is a mix of autobiography, artistic review and criticism, sociological research, consumer activism, history of workplace organising and appeal for further activism and resistance to build a better gaming industry as part of a better society for everyone.

The book covers plenty of ground, and despite its grand scope EPF is newbie friendly - gaming terms are explained when they first appear in the text. Didžgalvytė's target audience appears to be people who are committed left wingers of one stripe or other but are not into games or are sceptical of them and possibly even hostile to them. There are several passages lamenting the arbitrary treatment of games compared to film, art, literature etc. While every game terminology and technology is explained left wing terminology is only explained if it's somewhat obscure. For example, the Situationist concept of Derive (Drift) is explained for the reader but Didžgalvytė's usage of Historical Materialism is not.

I share Didžgalvytė's frustrations on common left wing disdain for games and the blind spots that come with it. I've experienced the disapproval and belittling attitude first hand and I've been trying to chip away at that wall of disinterest for some time in my own small way. I was surprised when Organise expressed interest both in my writing and commentary about games in general as that is not a typical response for an older established platform. Film, music and literature are staples of left wing critical commentary, and entire schools of thought have risen to prominence pondering the impact of these media institutions on the minds of the working masses, but videogames are still shut out of those conversations. EPF's publisher is Verso books, which is both another positive sign of change and a good platform to reach the audience of sceptics. Didžgalvytė makes an effective case that to ignore one of the largest industries on the planet is to seriously undermine any strategy for resistance to capitalism and hinders attempts to construct a world that is free from the exploitation and violence of infinite growth and productivity improvements.

The games industry is a major contributor to land clearance, modern slavery, resource depletion and pollution. If we wish to stop hyper-exploitation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other regions of the world we can't limit ourselves to illegal logging and conflict diamonds, we have to challenge the role of tech and game companies in cobalt and other mineral mining. Tens of thousands of people around the world are employed in the games industry and just like their fellow workers on the docks, in the fields and factories they are exploited, overworked, underpaid, harassed sexually, bullied, fired on short or no notice, and through their labour create products that they will not own and will enrich someone else. Their struggles are just as worthy of moral and practical support.

Ignorance of these areas also presents the danger of sleep walking into a trap as the cultural, social and psychological effects of the lessons learnt in the gaming

industry seep out into areas of our society and personal lives that at a glance are completely separate from the world of point winning and level climbing. Gamification is marketing buzzword, but annoyingly and dangerously it's a buzzword that describes a real process that has proven time and again to be quite effective, at least effective at generating profit. The impact that the logic of video games being exported outside its traditional sphere is something we don't fully understand yet as the process is still in early stages, but its quickly becoming inescapable even for those who have never touched a joystick and only use keyboards and mice for writing emails and browsing videos of cats being random. My audio book and podcasts apps recently added medals and experience points as an example of the future fast approaching.

All of these issues and more are summarised and examined in EPF, there's lot of blood, sweat and tears that go into making plumbers jump up and down and hedgehogs collect shiny rings, and sadly that is often literal. I've never experienced crunch time developing a video game but I've experienced similar conditions in a factory, and its mind, body, and soul draining work, so I can empathise with conditions for game developers. There's plenty to critique and lament in gaming spaces and the industry that shapes it right now, and EPF could easily have been another entry in the growing left wing genre of political pessimism, pointing out and cataloguing at length the many faults of the world as it is and then despairing about how insurmountable it all is. Thankfully EPF is not like that, although it does catalogue the many faults of the world as it is. It also credits the successes, games that engage politically with their players and raise awareness of issues, the growth of video game and tech worker unions, independent developers and games co-operatives that are experimenting with new ways of working that promote sustainability, collaboration and equability in compensation and decision making. EPF couples these positives with outlines of a potential better future for gaming that more support from the wider left could assist in making a reality sooner.

EPFs vision of a possible future is not a blueprint and there are parts of the puzzle that remain unanswered by the end of the conclusion. To me that isn't a detriment; the history of the schools of socialism is littered with impressive schematics that breakdown and become obsolete within a year. The remaining ambiguities in EPF leave room for independent thought, and there were points in the text where Didžgalvytė asked a question and while reading I thought of a rough outline of an answer or potential avenue for discussion and examination. I really hope that in the near future I will find enough time to start writing some of them.

I'm not in the target demographic (well I am partially in that demographic - I am convinced that we need a revolutionary overhaul of society after all), but I'm not new to games and I doubt anyone who reads Red & Black Gamers would need the definition for a LAN party. If that's the case should you still read EPF? I would hope that I've already answered that question, but just in case I'll be blunt: yes, yes you should. I consider myself a well-informed gamer who has documented issues within the industry and supported early attempts at resistance, and yet I've learnt quite a bit, both new examples and some more information or another perspective on cases and incidents I was already aware of. To pick just one example I was aware of the game Dead Cells, but was not familiar with its studio Motion Twin nor that it is open about its support for Anarcho-Syndicalism.

> *"Follow games industry unions on social media and support their calls for action. Enjoy and encourage artistic experimentations in this field and support smaller creators. Do not dismiss political action within these spaces as isolated aberrations, but engage with them, give them merit, be curious."*

Is it a perfect book? No, but I don't believe those exist and my negative notes were trivial, so I won't bother including them as just mentioning them would give them greater weight than they merit. I think EPF is good contribution to the discourse about video games and I hope it proves to be a successful step in the process of getting video games as an industry, and as a subject for criticism, resistance and improvement out of the lefty sin bin and into the mainstream. Getting it on the bookshelf is a good start. ■

Jason Vizcarra-Brown
Radon Journal
January 2024

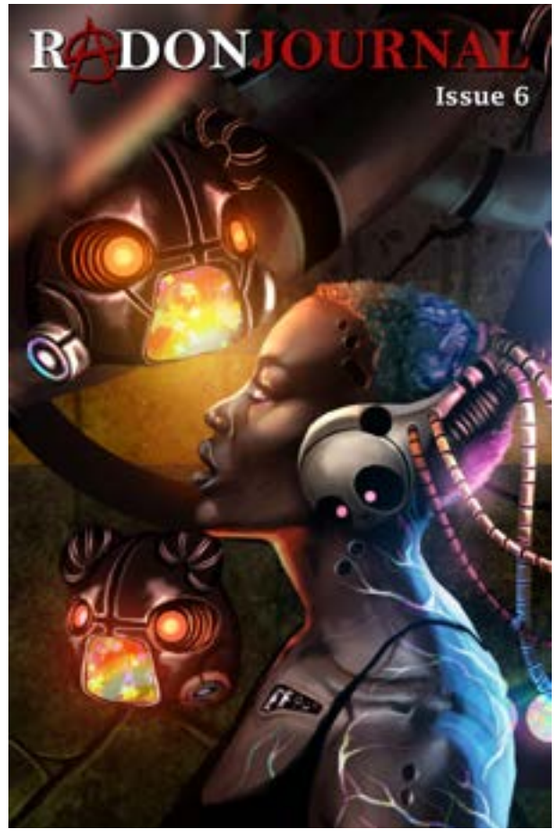
THE MAGNETIC GOSPEL

The following text was contributed to us by the the fantastic Radon Journal a triannual journal publishing prose and poetry relating to science fiction, anarchism, transhumanism, and dystopia.

"At Radon, we know what we love and hope you will share in our revelry. We strive to be a professional community for a unique blend of passions. Our goal is to amplify the voices of writers who see the world differently, who use story and verse to expose injustice and investigate our impending futures.

It is our vow to remain non-profit and transparent. We are here to embody the wholesome values of anarchy (direct democracy, equality, free association, mutual-aid) and provide an avenue for writers to join the conversation.

If you envision writing on Mars before you die, gleefully run toward the technological singularity, or want to fight back against the world, then you've found home. Welcome."



Radon's 7th edition was just released and we highly reccomend you check it out. It contains 11 works of fiction and a dozen poems.

You'll also find an interesting interview with Radon on Freedom Press in which they discuss transhumanisim, utopias and the difficulties of publishing. It's well worth a read and you'll find it here: *https://freedomnews.org.uk/2024/06/09/interview-radon-and-the-new-wave-of-anarchist-sci-fi/*

www.radonjournal.com
Most social networks: @RadonJournal

THE MAGNETIC GOSPEL

Jason Vizcarra-Browen

The Discman presides, loathsome and gray, over his magnetic empire, buried way deep down under the hills of Tempe, Arizona. He is the profligate lord of the data slum, king of those minds desperate to afford one more memory.

Every day begins with a survey of his warehouse. The Discman lumbers between racks of outdated storage—spinning hard drives, long strands of CAM wire, spool after spool of magnetic tape. As he cuts a trail through the stacks, his jaw hangs loose. Behind him a knot of cable trembles and slides along the concrete floor, pulled forward by bundled haunch and silver claw. There is a strict disorder to the room: nests of copper wire draped over network equipment buried under industrial write controllers connected to hanging clusters of memory.

The Discman stalks through every aisle to peer at the most expensive machines, hungrily, though he never does repairs himself. He merely trundles about, battering any drone unlucky enough to cross his path, until he finally settles into his terminal like a bulbous mechanical toad.

This warehouse contains the most precious real estate in the world: digital storage. A place for data of all kinds, rented out to poor workers who can't afford to store their memories with a more reputable company. Immortality in ones and zeros, ready to be restored in the case of body death or natural loss. A necessity for a society where lives have grown stretched, long and thin, far past the eldest of their ancestors.

The Discman hardly resembles the owners of the commercial storage towers crowded along the coasts. Those men are polished chrome, kept pristine in their penthouse suites far above the stench of hot brine and rotting seaweed; but their job is the same.

Accumulate, commercialize, draw in more tenants.

Hundreds of messages flicker across the terminal screen, mostly a torrent of advertisements and drugware, until one catches The Discman's eye. It's a heartfelt plea from one of his clients, begging for an extension on this week's storage fee.

"Mr. Discman," it says. "I'm writing to arrange a deferred payment on my outstanding drive rent. It's my son's birthday tomorrow, and I'm already overdrawn on my bank loan. I'm afraid I won't have the cycles I need to attend my son's party tomorrow. I know he'll be devastated if I can't make it. Could we possibly postpone the collection until next week?"

The Discman hits a key to bring up the warehouse's memory map. Tenant 0x8f12ae01 . . . here. He grins, and begins sifting through the woman's memories.

There have always been laws against accessing client data, but drivelords don't care about a little thing like privacy. It's simple, really, to dive into another's past and experience it for yourself. A victimless crime, The Discman thinks. Though the woman's memories are heavily compressed to save space, The Discman still gets thrilling tingles jumping from a grainy video of a family crowded around a dinner table, to her boy's first visit to the zoo, to a still image of a sunset viewed from a tiny fishing boat on a lake. All the woman's treasured memories. It's sweet—the feeling of love deep enough to be desperate.

The Discman replies with a form letter rejecting the payment deferral, and sends a note to his secretary to reserve the woman's mind for two hours tomorrow afternoon. Going to a birthday party will be quite a treat—it has been so long since he last had cake.

* * *

The Discman's domain is tended by his drones. They are white collar workers who have shed their human bodies for ceramic shells, aluminum spindles, and network probes—bodies better suited to the labor they are obligated to perform.

Deep in the stacks, a drone named Folder monitors the data rate of the Premium Integrity Subscription® pipeline. For the low price of 49.99 giga-cycles per hour, The Discman promises to restore any data that gets corrupted. He never does. It's much cheaper to pay contract penalties than run tens of thousands of backup drives.

This place is the last resort for those who can't afford a drive at one of the commercial storage towers. Here every memory is perched upon the edge of a pit, asking to be corrupted, not even the most basic redundancy keeping the data from slowly unraveling. Those who rent a stack in The Discman's abode are liable to lose what they recall about their childhood to a burnt-out hard drive; years of work experience slipping away on a sheared data thread.

The dark, dry heat of the building reminds Folder of a crematorium oven. The underground warehouse was originally built to store cattle feed, and The Discman hasn't bothered cleaning since he moved in. A layer of grain dust still covers every surface, clogging fans and dimming the broad fluorescent bulbs. The hum of ventilation and the grinding of disc motors averages out to a white noise somewhere between hurricane and jet engine.

Folder has worked for The Discman for eight months now. He used to live in the city, running network diagnostics at one of Tempe's few remaining public library nodes. It had been a good job, but funding for that kind of thing was never stable.

Budget cuts saw his node moved from full public access to a strict weekly data cap, and all the network staff had their hours slashed. He had tried to pick up extra work with the archival team, but his debts kept mounting and soon he owed too many cycles per day to even be able to work full time.

Working for The Discman had been the only reasonable choice. Storage companies always need more network drones, and the employee discount on drive space meant no collections company would be coming after him anytime soon. Still, Folder is only slowly digging himself out from under his mountain of debt. It will be six more years of twenty-hour days before he can afford to look for better work.

I can't believe he gets away with it, Folder thinks, eight months and I haven't seen a single data regulator in the warehouse. He's breaking every law on the books. He must be drowning in lawsuits. How can he keep this up?

From this angle all Folder can see of The Discman is what bulges around the seat of his terminal—bundles of muscle fiber and steel cord beneath stretched nylon skin, a train of exposed cable, LEDs diffused by filthy plastic panels. He never leaves the warehouse except by wire, casting himself out into the bodies of his debtors. Even when he is gone, his body slumps on the throne, empty eyes leering across the room, threatening to rekindle and lash out at anyone not working to his satisfaction.

I wish he would fry in his sleep. I hope his brain rots from a virus, his heart explodes, and his ass gets welded to his seat.

Folder disconnects from the network switch and wanders closer, close enough to see the straining plastic ribs that make up the back of The Discman's seat. The Discman's bulk is completely still—lifeless and rigid.

He's gone. Off somewhere being someone else, filling them up with his filth.

Folder trembles as he slides around The Discman. He's learned to stay as far away from the monster as possible, but something compels him to draw closer, circling around the throne. Being this close feels wrong. He can see The Discman's sallow skin, smell the sick-sweet decay on his breath. The Discman's eyes are rolled back, jerking in response to some far-off stimuli. Two wires hang from the terminal and are driven like spikes into the admin ports on his neck.

When he's casting like this, he's as vulnerable as anyone else. It would be so easy to—

A claw shoots out from the tangle of wires and flesh, grabbing Folder and pinning him against the terminal's console.

"Get back to work before I rip your drive out of the rack and grind you into dust," The Discman shrieks. "Don't ever sneak around me like that again. I own you, you buzzing little worm. I'll strip you for spare parts before I tell you again."

The Discman bears down on Folder, and his shell cracks along one edge, driving a spike of pain into his head. He can feel his servos grinding helplessly against the mounting pressure until he is sure he will break in two.

Finally, The Discman relents, and Folder flees into the stacks—back into the shadows and the noise.

* * *

For four hours every night, Folder collapses into one of the drone bunks and enters remote operation mode. His debt contract with Howard & Howard International Bank requires a few hours of remote operation every day to avoid the half dozen bank fees they try to charge. The pay for going remote is much worse than working for The Discman—in fact it barely covers what The Discman charges to rent the bunk—but too many bank penalties would see Folder arrested and sent to a body farm.

No choice but surrender.

No one ever possesses his body. The life of a network drone is dull beyond reason.Instead, companies pay the bank to run who-knows-what code on his processor. On a good day he wakes up exhausted with a headache. Other days he flails in his sleep so hard he falls out of his bed. Once he woke up a little bit on fire.

Tonight, though, Folder is sitting quietly in his bunk, staring across the room at The Discman's terminal. It feels wrong to be sitting still, like wasting time, but he knows he needs to watch for just the right moment.

Hours pass. The Discman drapes across his terminal, occasionally gulping down a sour energy drink and eating from a cold, greasy bowl. Eventually he goes still, casting out to some new body halfway across the world. The occasional grumble and moan imply he is occupied with his usual debauchery.

Folder gets up from his bunk. He moves through the stacks with a practiced glide, three rows down, right at the outdated power bank, underneath an archway of ethernet cables, to the closet where spare CAM wire and generator fuel are stored.

Quickly, before he comes back. Before you lose your nerve.

The door is locked, but Folder knows the combination. The Discman could never be bothered to open the door himself. The drone hauls a canister of gasoline off the shelf, long unused, hopefully not spoiled.

Faster now, he carries the fuel back across the warehouse. Folder is sure that every turn will bring him face-to-face with the hulking shape of the drivelord.

The noise of the room and the hum of fear fill his head, the shadows crawl—he swears he hears the thump, thump, slide of The Discman's gait.

Turn around, you can still stop! You can go back to how things were—

As Folder rounds the last server before the throne, he almost runs into one of the night shift drones. Folder's heart drops as the other drone looks down at the gas canister, then over towards the lifeless body of The Discman. They both remain still for a long moment.

"Please. Take the others and get out," whispers Folder.

The other drone hesitates, looking once again at The Discman, thinking about what will happen if he doesn't tell the boss. Thinking about what will happen if he does. Without a word, he finally locks eyes with Folder and nods, disappearing into the darkness and away from whatever is about to occur.

Folder creeps the rest of the way to the terminal. The Discman slumbers like a dragon on his hoard, self-satisfied and still full of greed.

There's only one way this ends. Burn his body, then delete the backups. He can't come back if none of him is left.

Folder begins to pour the fuel over The Discman, anointing him, watching the gasoline bubble down his face, over his jaw, and into the folds of his cables and skin. Fire is the only thing that can clean the years of blood and sorrow that cake him from crown to claw.

A trickle of fuel spills down The Discman's chin, dropping directly onto the computer terminal. A single warning light blinks on.
Then an iron grip locks onto Folder's arm, stopping the flow of gas.

"I told you to do your job," The Discman rattles. "But you cretins never listen. I don't need you, but I do need an example." Then darkness rushes up to meet Folder as The Discman slams a steel fist into his head.

* * *

The Discman crouches, silhouetted by fire, like an angel too bright and terrible to behold. Behind him the server housing Folder's memories burns, bellowing clouds of acrid black smoke.

As the drives burn, Folder awakens, head clouded by The Discman's forceful blow. He can feel his memories slipping away, first at a drip, then a flood, and then there is just numb, empty space where a lifetime used to be.

Long nights of insufferable philosophy and wine in his youth. Months of reading networking manuals to get his first job. The anguish of rejection and loss. Every feature and flaw gone, soul turned to ash, leaving only one thing: rage. Anger hotter than the flames hollowing out the metal around him. Cherry-red violence threatening to overflow, spill out and drown.
The Discman is a jailor, an extortionist, a thief. Folder doesn't need his memories to know what to do.

Death, death to the monsters who feed on our bones!

Folder dives into the heat, clasping onto The Discman's face, weathering the blows denting his case again and again. Folder quickly deploys a simple friction drill, meant to punch mounting holes in the steel racks, and grinds into the monster's skull.

Sparks, metal shavings, and screams pour from The Discman, pitch mounting higher the closer the drill bit gets to his brain. A deafening POP rings out as the drill shorts The Discman's optic nerve, and his left eye goes dark, rolling loosely in its socket.

"Enough!" The Discman roars, getting leverage on Folder's shell. With a twist and a crack, the drone's arm is torn out from its socket, left dangling from the spike still embedded in the Discman's head. The beast swings a fist and Folder is sent skidding across the warehouse, pinballing into drives and wires, coming to rest at the foot of the throne.
=The Discman doesn't hesitate. He slouches between the racks like a predator, faster than his size would suggest possible, pouncing on Folder, pounding him into the concrete floor, pummeling him with claws and pistons. Each blow sends a cloud of dust and synthetic blood into the air as The Discman furiously beats a drone-shaped crater into the ground.

"Die, die, die, die!" yells The Discman.

Not without you, thinks Folder, drowning in pain. With his remaining hand he hits The Discman once across the face, striking a spark on his metal jaw, igniting the air itself—thick with oil and grain dust—blowing the guts of the warehouse and everything in it a thousand feet into the sky.

* * *

The aftermath of the Great Tempe Drive Fire was a somber spectacle. The news reported it as a terrible accident caused by improper fuel storage and a stray spark. Tens of thousands of people's memories up in smoke—the single largest loss of digital data in the state's history. Politicians made speeches about enforcing data safety regulations, and the mainstream storage corporations promised free service for anyone affected by the explosion. No new laws were passed, and the companies started charging the victims six months later, once the press had died down.

Many years later historians would discover a single, silent security video of what had happened that night at The Discman's warehouse. They would call Folder an early casualty of the Age of Defragmentation, the era when mankind rejected the private ownership of personal data. It was remembered as a time of violence and sabotage, popular protest, police crackdowns, and brutal punishment.

But slowly, painfully, at the edge of a knife and the tip of a pen, humanity took back one more piece of their freedom.

Jason Vizcarra-Brown (he/him) spends his days shouting about labor history and his nights shouting about fictional labor history. ■

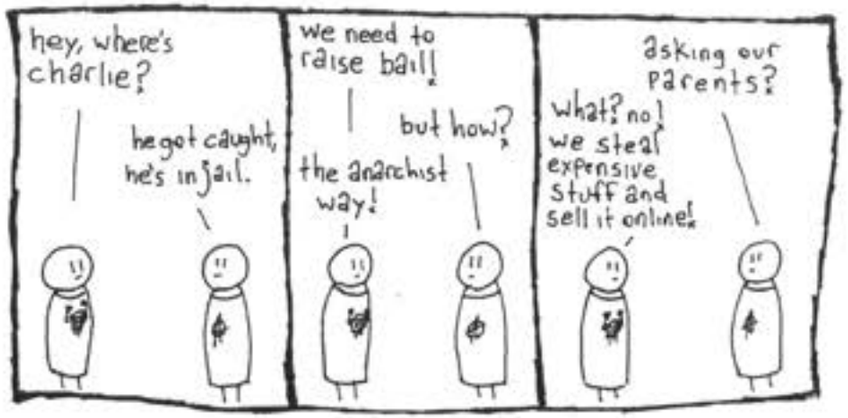
You can follow him on Twitter @Blooperly_.

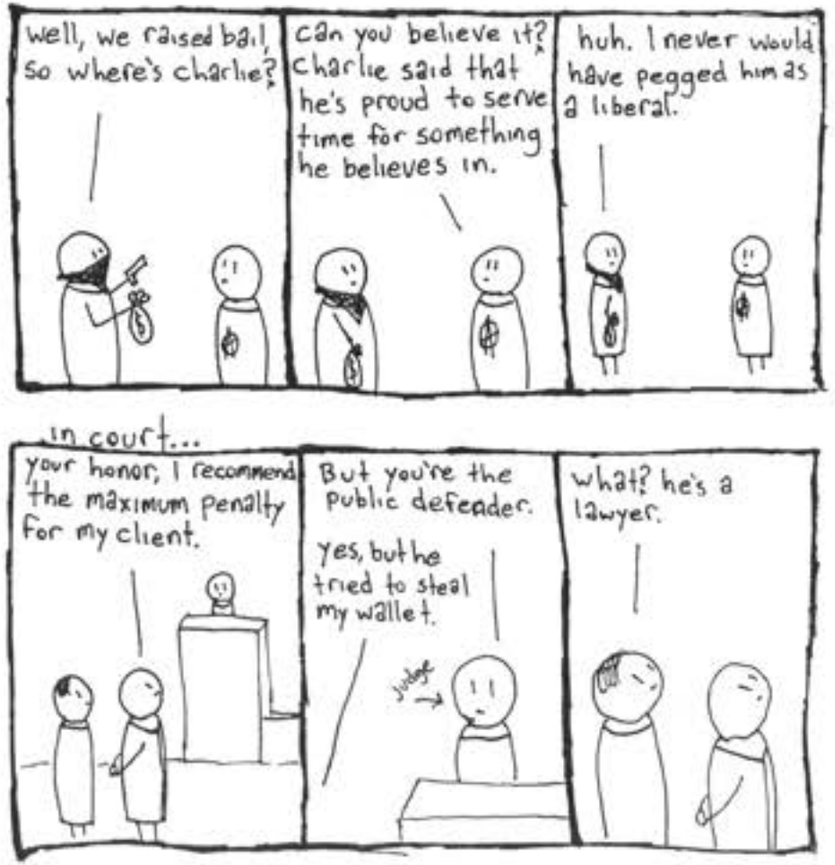
THE SUPER-HAPPY ANARCHO FUN PAGES!

hey charlie. where'd you get that laptop?
oh, I stole it from the library.
you stole it from the library?
yeah. I got pissed off cause they carry Mein Kampf.
oh. I forgot to introduce you to my friend Charlie. He can justify theft from anywhere.

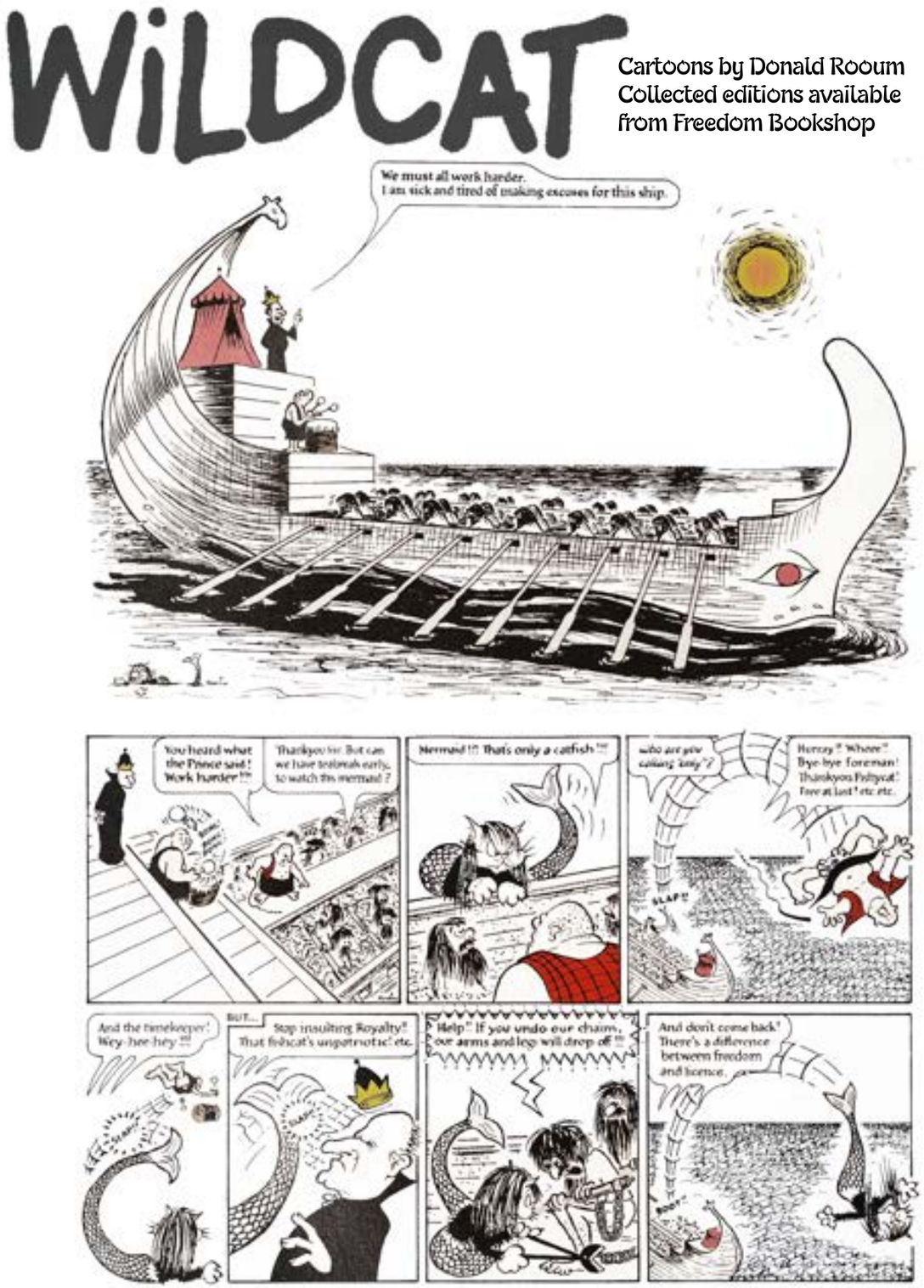
So if you can justify theft from anywhere, what about a food co-op?
I refuse to let capitalist exchange stand between people and food.
I think that's what they say.

sigh I don't even want to know where you got that lollipop.
lollipop
look, I know stealing candy from babies has a bad rep, but it's a short step from silver spoon to platinum visa.
okay. I'm leaving now.


hey, where's charlie?
he got caught, he's in jail.
we need to raise bail!
but how?
the anarchist way!
asking our parents?
what? no! we steal expensive stuff and sell it online!


well, we raised bail, so where's charlie?
can you believe it? Charlie said that he's proud to serve time for something he believes in.
huh. I never would have pegged him as a liberal.
in court...
your honor, I recommend the maximum penalty for my client.
But you're the public defender.
yes, but he tried to steal my wallet.
judge
what? he's a lawyer.

www.tangledwilderness.org for the web and printable 'zines
or check out your favourite disreputable bookstores for the book


WILDCAT
Cartoons by Donald Rooum
Collected editions available
from Freedom Bookshop
We must all work harder.
I am sick and tired of making excuses for this ship.
You heard what the Prince said! Work harder!!!
Thankyou sir. But can we have teabreak early, to watch the mermaid?
Mermaid!!! That's only a catfish!!!
who are you calling 'only'?
Hurray! Where? Bye-bye foreman! Thankyou Fishycat! Free at last! etc etc.
SLAP!
And the timekeeper! Wey-hee-hey!!!
BUT...
Stop insulting Royalty! That fishcat's unpatriotic! etc.
Help! If you undo our chains, our arms and legs will drop off!!!
And don't come back! There's a difference between freedom and licence.
BOOT!

THE ANARCHY OF COLORED GIRLS ASSEMBLED IN A RIOTOUS MANNER

Saidiya Hartman
July 2018

Esther Brown did not write a political tract
on the refusal to be governed,
or draft a plan for mutual aid
or outline a memoire of her sexual adventures,
"A Manifesto of The Wayward";
"Own nothing —
refuse the given,
live on what you need and no more —
get ready to be free," was not found among the items
contained in her case file

She didn't pen any song lines:
"My momma says I'm wreckless
My daddy says I'm wild
I ain't good looking
But im somebody's angel child,"

She didn't commit to paper her ruminations on freedom,
with human nature caged in a narrow space
wooped daily into submission —
how can we speak of potentialities?

The carboard plackards for the tumult
and upheaval
she incited might have said:
"Don't mess with me
I am not afraid to smash things up,"

But hers was a struggle without formal declarations,
policies,
slogans,
or credos.
It required no party platform
or 10 point program.

Walking through the streets of New York City,
she and Emma Goldman crossed paths
but failed to recognize one another.

When Houghward * Harrison encountered her
in the lobby of the Renaissance Casino
after he delivered his lecture
on Marriage vs. Free Love
at the socialist club,
he noticed only that she had a pretty face
and a big ass.

Esther never pulled a soap box
onto the corner of 135th Street
on Lennox avenue
to make a speech about autonomy,
the global reach of the color line,
involuntary servitude,
free motherhood,
or the promise of a future world —
but she well understood the desire to move as she wanted
was nothing short of treason.

She knew first hand that
the offense that was punished by the state
was trying to live free:
to wander through the streets of Harlem,
to want better than what she had,
and to be propelled by her whims and desires
was to be ungovernable —

Her way of living was nothing short of anarchy.

Had anyone ever found the rough notes through reconstruction
jotted in the margin area of her grocery lists,
or correlated the numbers circled most often
in her dog-eared dream book,
with routes of escape not to be found in McNally's Atlas
or seen the love letters written to her girlfriend
about how they would live at the end of the world
the master philosophers, and the card-holding radicals
in all likelihood
would've said that her analysis was insufficient,
dismissed her for failing to understand those Key Passages
in the Grundrisse
about the ex-slaves refusal to work,
and emphasized the limits
of Black feminist politics

"They have ceased to be slaves,
but not in order to be wage laborers!"

She had Amen'd an enthusiastic agreement
at all wrong places —
content with producing only what i strictly necessary
for their own consumption
and she embraced wholeheartedly
indolence,
indulgence,
and idleness
as the real luxury good.

What did the untested militants,
and smug ideologues,
know of Truth
and Tubman?
Unlike Unruly Colored Women,
they failed to recognize that experience
was capable of opening up new ways,
yielding a thousand new forms
and improvisations.
Could they ever understand
the dreams of another world
that didn't trouble the distinction between
State, Law, Settler, and Master?
Or account the struggle against servitude,
captivity,
property, and
enclosure
that began in the Barracoon
and continued on the ship
where some fought, some jumped,
some refused to eat,
others at the plantation and the fields
on fire
poison the Master?

They had never listened to Lucy Parsons…
They had never read Ida B. Wells,
or envisioned the riot as a rally cry:
a refusal — a fungible life…
Only a misreading of the key text of anarchism
could ever imagine a place for Wayward Colored Girls.

No, Kropotkin never described Black women's
mutual aid societies
or the chorus in mutual aid —
although he imagined animals sociality
in its rich varieties
in the forms of cooperation and mutuality
found among ants, monkeys, and ruminants
and possible recalcitrant domestics
weren't yet, in his view,
or anyone else's.
It would be a decade and a half
before Marvel Cooke and Ella Baker wrote their essay:
"The Bronx Slave Market"
and two decades before Claudia Jones'
"An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman"

Their revolt against the personal degradation of their work,
and unjust labor conditions expressed itself in militant
refusals,
soldierings, sullowness,
petty pilfering,
unreliability,
and fast and fruitless change of Masters.
Yet it had no chronicler —
none responded to the call to write The Great Servant Girl Novel

It is not surprising that a negress would be guilty
of conflating idleness with resistance
or exalt the struggle for mere survival,
or confuse petty acts for insurrection,
or imagine a minor figure might be capable
of some significant shit,
or mistake laziness and insufficiency
for a general strike,
or recast theft
as a kind of cheap socialism
for two fast girls and questionable women,
or steam wild ideas as radical thought.

At best
the case of Esther Brown
provides another example
of the tendency to exaggeration
and excesser friends
raised hell on 132nd Street,
or turned out Edmond's cellar,
or made such a beautiful noise during the riot
that their screams,
and shouts
were improvised music
so that even the tone deaf
from the New York Times
described the Black noise of disorderly women
as a jazz chorus.
that is common to The Race.

Nobody remembers the evening she and her friends
raised hell on 132nd Street,
or turned out Edmond's cellar,
or made such a beautiful noise during the riot
that their screams,
and shouts
were improvised music
so that even the tone deaf
from the New York Times
described the Black noise of disorderly women
as a jazz chorus. ■

Sadiya Hartman is a author, archivist and political theorist from the US, she's spent a large amount of her time writing about the experiences of black women during the trans-atlantic slave trade and afterwards.

She's also known for coining the term "afro-pessimism" and for theorising the enduring harm brought about by the afterlife of slavery which includes skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment.

This poetic biography above was produced and given away for free at a variety of bookstores on Mayday 2019 ■

MAY THY RIOT GEAR CHIP AND SHATTER

£3.50
WHERE SOLD
FREE FOR
PRISONERS